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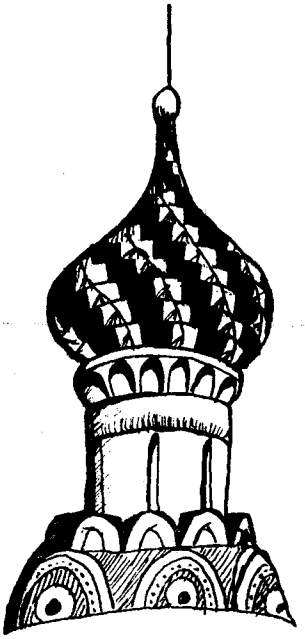
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The Congressional Controversy over School Segregation, 1867-1875

Alfred H. Kelly

On a certain day in March, 1867, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts arose from his seat in the United States Senate to offer an amendment to the Second Reconstruction Act, then under consideration by the Congress. His proposal would have required the states under reconstruction to establish "public schools open to all without distinction of race or color."[1] The amendment, itself of little import, was the opening move in what proved to be an eight-year campaign for federal legislation to abolish racial segregation generally and in particular to prohibit segregation in the nation's public schools. The campaign was ultimately to culminate, with frustration and substantial failure, in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

Controversy over the "mixed school" question, as the school segregation

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., 165 (Mar. 16, 1867).

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issue then was commonly designated, was not altogether new even in 1865. Before that time, however, it had involved solely local and state policy. Most of the northern states had long provided for racial segregation in some form in their public schools, since the institution had made its appearance wherever free Negro communities of any size had developed.[2] In a number of instances, equalitarian idealists had attacked school segregation in the state courts.[3] In Massachusetts, in particular, a long and spectacular campaign against the practice had been climaxed by the celebrated "separate but equal" opinion in the Roberts case, and by the subsequent passage of a statute outlawing racial segregation in the public schools of the state.[4]

The Reconstruction era for the first time gave the school segregation question the status of a national problem, because emancipation had created millions of free Negroes whose legal status and caste position became the subject of extended congressional attention. Also, the triumphant Radical Republicans in Congress included numerous idealists who were intent upon fashioning a new casteless American society. And finally, the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, itself in large part the product of the Radical drive for a casteless society, provided a plausible constitutional foundation from which the opponents of racial segregation were enabled to launch their attack.[5]

Any analysis of the Radical Reconstruction drive in Congress for mixed schools must recognize at the outset that the force of the campaign was due very largely to the efforts of one man, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Sumner had first distinguished himself as a champion of mixed schools

[2] For example, *New York Laws*, 1850, chap. 143, sec. 4; *Pennsylvania Laws*, 1854, p. 623; 36 *Ohio Laws* (1838), 21; *Indiana Revised Statutes*, 1850, p. 321; *Illinois Laws*, 1857, p. 292; *Iowa Laws*, 1846, chap. 99, par. 6; *Laws of Michigan*, 1841, p. 48; *Statutes of California*, 1855, pp. 234–35.

[3] *Van Camp* vs. *Board of Education*, 9 *Ohio* 407 (1859); *Draper* vs. *Cambridge*, 20 *Ind.* 268 (1863).

[4] *Roberts* vs. *City of Boston*, 59 *Mass.* 198 (1850). *Massachusetts Statutes*, 1855, chap. 256, sec. 1. See also Leonard W. Levy and Harlan B. Phillips, "The *Roberts* Case: Source of the 'Separate but Equal' Doctrine," *American Historical Review*, LVI (Apr., 1951), 510–18.

[5] The highly controversial question of whether the Fourteenth Amendment was itself intended to prohibit school segregation is outside the scope of this paper. The author of this essay has argued elsewhere that, while the framers of the Amendment were little concerned with school segregation as such, they deliberately struck broadly at all caste and class legislation, so that a prohibition against school segregation might reasonably be construed generally as within their intent. That is, they were adopting an amendment setting forth broad purpose, not legislating. John A. Bingham of Ohio made this distinction clear on the floor of the House. See Alfred H. Kelly, "The Fourteenth Amendment Reconsidered: The Segregation Question," *Michigan Law Review*, LIV (June, 1956), 1049–86. Howard Jay Graham, "Our 'Declaratory' Fourteenth Amendment," *Stanford Law Review*, VII (Dec., 1954), 3–39, presents the same general thesis as is found in John Frank and Robert F. Monroe, "The Original Understanding of Equal Protection of the Laws," *Columbia Law Review*, L (Feb., 1950), 131–69. For a carefully expounded argument to the contrary, see Alexander M. Bickel, "The Original Understanding and the Segregation Decision," *Harvard Law Review*, LXIX (Nov., 1955), 1–65.

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in his celebrated argument in the Roberts case, where he had condemned segregation as contrary to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.[6] He never rested thereafter from the exposition of the thesis that school segregation was inimical to the best interests of American democracy.

Sumner's leadership of the Radical crusade against segregated schools was at once its inspiration and a revelation of its political weakness. For the plain truth of the matter was that he was for the most part unable to command an effective majority of his Republican colleagues on any definitive vote. A number of the senatorial faithful, among them Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Richard Yates of Illinois, Samuel Pomeroy of Kansas, George Edmunds of Vermont, John Sherman of Ohio, and Levi P. Morton of Indiana, showed themselves willing to support the Massachusetts idealist on most occasions, but they generally allowed Sumner to lead the way. In the House, George F. and Ebenezer R. Hoar were consistently loyal to the cause, while Ben Butler, for whatever dubious reasons of his own, also eventually became an ardent champion of mixed schools.[7] But it is significant that virtually the only occasions in which Sumner found his cause sufficiently popular to command effective support in either house occurred when it happened to coincide with the momentary tactical or strategic interests of the Republican party. This was the case both in the protracted congressional fight over southern amnesty in 1872 and during the partisan maneuvering incident to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

Republican politicians sensed, correctly enough, that there was comparatively little popular interest in national mixed school legislation. Even in the North most communities were content to allow the issue to be settled as a local or state matter rather than by a federal law. The demand from Negro voters for mixed school legislation, to be sure, was powerful and insistent, and Republican politicians on occasion were obliged to pay some attention to it. Mixed schools also offered a potential device to confirm the loyalty of southern Negro voters and so to strengthen the Republican party in the South. But it soon became clear that virtually all southern whites were extremely hostile to school desegregation, so that advocacy of mixed school legislation promised to weaken the Republican party below the Mason and Dixon line rather than strengthen it. Sound party tactics therefore called for

[6] The argument is in Charles Sumner, *His Complete Works* (Boston, 1900), III, 51–100.
[7] Butler and the Hoar brothers were, of course, deadly political enemies. Cf. George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), I, 329–30, 340–48.

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some support of Sumner's cause and even for an occasional congressional vote, but not for any decisive attempt to enact a mandatory federal mixed school statute. With the exception of a few idealists, the Republican Radicals used the mixed school question merely as a party stalking horse.

Sumner's attempt to attach a mixed school requirement to the second Reconstruction bill was a rather shrewdly chosen opening move, for it was evident that his Radical colleagues might well be far more willing to impose mandatory desegregation on the "rebel states" than upon their own constituents. The maneuver nonetheless failed,[8] and a like attempt in July, 1867, to amend the third Reconstruction bill met a similar fate.[9]

At the same time, Sumner had succeeded in inspiring some degree of self-consciousness with respect to mixed schools both in Congress and in southern Radical Republican ranks. Two of the constitutions drafted by the Radical-controlled conventions in the states then undergoing reconstruction, those of South Carolina and Louisiana, specifically prohibited racial segregation in the public schools. The other five constitutions of 1868, those of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina,[10] carried more general provisions directed toward equality in education without specifically guaranteeing mixed schools as such. These provisions, particularly those of South Carolina and Louisiana, called forth several expressions of conservative and Democratic condemnation on the floor of Congress without evoking any Radical response.[11]

Two years later, in 1870, the mixed school faction in Congress succeeded in incorporating guarantees of racially mixed schools as "conditions-subsequent" in the acts to readmit Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to representation. This development grew out of Radical concern for the situation in the state of Virginia, where a fight over school segregation had been under way for some time. The constitutional convention of 1867–1868, after protracted debate on the subject in which both sides failed to carry their objective in any specific provision, had adopted deliberately vague and ambiguous school district and county organization provisions which everyone recognized might

[8] After some discussion, the Senate voted the proposal down, 20 to 20. *Cong. Globe,* 40 Cong., 1 sess., 165–70 (Mar. 16, 1867).

[9] *Ibid.,* 580–81, (July 11, 1867).

[10] Francis N. Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies now or heretofore Forming the United States of America* (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909), I, 149, 322; III, 716, 868, 1465; V, 2817; VI, 3301.

[11] In a bitter condemnation of the Louisiana and South Carolina constitutional mixed school provisions, for example, James Beck of Kentucky asserted indignantly, "I can scarcely conceive of a more despotic, galling, and degrading provision in the fundamental law of a state pretending to be free." *Cong. Globe,* 40 Cong., 2 sess., 2449 (May 13, 1868).

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later be construed as providing either for mixed schools or school segregation.[12]

In the subsequent state election campaign, Gilbert Walker, the "Conservative" candidate for governor, had repeatedly assured the people of Virginia that if he and his party were elected to office and the prospective constitution adopted, its controversial provisions "would never be enforced in a manner detrimental to the people."[13] Apparently this was generally understood to be a pledge to maintain segregated schools. In July, 1869, Walker was elected governor, his party carried a large majority in the assembly, and the constitution was overwhelmingly ratified.

Many Virginia Radicals, now despairing of achieving mixed schools otherwise, appealed in alarm to their friends in Congress.[14] The Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, which then had under consideration a bill to readmit Virginia to representation, accordingly incorporated the following provision in the bill as reported in January, 1870, to the floor of the two houses:

> . . . The Constitution of said State shall never be so amended or changed . . . to prevent any person on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude from serving as a juror or participating equally in the school fund or school privileges provided for in said Constitution.[15]

This provision was open to a serious constitutional objection, in that it would have imposed a "condition-subsequent" upon the admission of Virginia to representation. The constitutional objection to "conditions-subsequent"—that they implied a union of unequal rather than equal states—was of long standing and had been generally recognized by all constitutional lawyers since the days of the Missouri Compromise debates.[16] When the bill came up for debate in the House, John A. Bingham of Ohio, long a Radical stalwart, vigorously attacked its constitutionality. The House thereupon voted to adopt Bingham's amendment to strike out everything in the bill

[12] *Journal of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867–1868* (Richmond, 1868), 299, 301, 333, 339, 340. As finally written, the constitution provided merely for "compactly located school districts" and for "a uniform system of free public schools." Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions,* VII, 3891, 3892.

[13] Representative Hulbert Paine of Wisconsin and other indignant Radicals quoted Walker to this effect on the floor of both houses. *Cong. Globe,* 41 Cong., 2 sess., 402, 543 (Jan. 12, 1870). See also H. J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction* (Baltimore, Md., 1904), 120–25.

[14] In January, 1870, a Washington convention of "loyal Republican citizens of Virginia" petitioned Congress to intervene. *Cong. Globe,* 41 Cong., 2 sess., 390, 440–41 (Jan. 13, 1870).

[15] *Ibid.,* 362 (Jan. 11, 1870).

[16] Cf. Attorney General George F. Hoar's opinion of August, 1869, on the matter. *Ibid.,* 404 (Jan. 12, 1870).

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after the enacting clause and simply to readmit Virginia to representation; it then passed the amended bill in that form.[17]

The Senate Radicals were little concerned, however, with constitutional niceties of this kind. After impassioned pleas by Sumner and Morton of Indiana, the upper house a few days later adopted, on a close vote, an amendment submitted by Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts stipulating "that the constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said State." The Senate then passed the bill, the House soon concurred in the Senate's changes,[18] and the measure became law with the Wilson "condition-subsequent" intact.[19] A few weeks later Congress passed bills to readmit Mississippi and Texas[20] which contained similar mixed school provisions.

In actual practice, these guarantees proved to have little meaning. Indeed, the Virginia legislature in July, 1870, adopted by a large majority a Walker-sponsored public school act containing a mandatory school segregation clause.[21] Ironically, no one in Congress, not even Sumner, thereafter bothered to challenge the law.

By 1870 Sumner's little coterie had begun agitation on three additional fronts to obtain their objective. They now sought a national subsidy for primary and secondary education which would incorporate a mixed school guarantee, a reform of the school system in the District of Columbia to bring mandatory mixed schools to the city of Washington, and, most important, the passage of a comprehensive antisegregation civil rights act which would include as a principal provision an outright prohibition against racially segregated schools in the states.

Until the late 1880's bills to establish a national subsidy for public education appeared in every session of Congress. The principal interest in these measures centered in the House.[22] Most of them, like the one introduced by Representative Waitman Willey of West Virginia in 1870, proposed to appropriate the proceeds of public land sales to the states for the support of

[17] *Ibid.*, 493–95, 502 (Jan. 14, 1870). The vote on Bingham's amendment was 98 to 95.

[18] *Ibid.*, 643–44, 720 (Jan. 14, 21, 24, 1870). The Senate vote on the Virginia bill was 47 to 101 and that of the House 136 to 58.

[19] 16 *United States Statutes at Large*, 63.

[20] *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 1173–84, 1253–60, 1329, 1365–66, 1969–71, 2271 (Feb. 10, 14, 16, 17; Mar. 15, 29, 1870).

[21] *Virginia Laws*, 1869–70, p. 413. See also A. A. Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (Washington, D. C., 1928), 146–52.

[22] Allen J. Going, "The South and the Blair Bill," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Sept., 1957), 267–71; Gordon C. Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid: First Phase* (New York, 1949), 40–87.

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education.[23] Others, however, such as that introduced by Congressman George F. Hoar of Massachusetts in February, 1870,[24] or that presented in January, 1872, by Representative Legrand Perce, a Mississippi Negro,[25] provided for direct federal taxation, the proceeds of which were to be distributed to the states for the support of the public schools.

These bills, at least in the 1870's, nearly always carried some sort of mixed school guarantee, and indeed both sides recognized quite generally that this was one of their objectives. As a consequence, they invariably aroused bitter controversy whenever they reached the floor.

The House debate on the Perce bill in January, 1872, was particularly notable for its vitriolic character. The measure carried a specific mixed school guarantee, and conservative Republicans and Democrats alike denounced it as an ill-disguised attempt to force mixed schools upon the states. Democrat John B. Storm of Pennsylvania warned the South that "this bill is a Trojan horse. In its interior are concealed the lurking foe—mixed schools." Michael Kerr of Indiana protested that the bill "proposes to establish . . . mixed public schools . . . all over the country." And John T. Harris of Virginia cried out in an impassioned speech that "Virginia will do justice to the colored man, but money cannot purchase her to the principles of this bill. . . . We give the colored man equal political and legal rights, but social equality, Never! Never! Never!"[26]

Thereupon Representative William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, familiarly known as "Pig-Iron," observed sarcastically

> that the terror of the gentleman from Virginia excited by his fear of mixed schools, need not be so extreme. If, as he seems to apprehend, such schools should be forced upon the people of this and other States, it will in the South be but temporary; for all men know that the sun and atmosphere of the southern states soon bleach the blackest African, both in hair and complexion, to the colors characteristic of the purest Saxon lineage.[27]

At this point an outraged Virginian, Representative Frank Hereford, asked Kelley "whether he is in favor of forcing mixed schools upon the people?" But in reply Kelley quoted the evidence of Negro-white intermixture that he had seen in the Freedman's Bureau schools in the South, and

[23] *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 2979 (Apr. 26, 1870).
[24] *Ibid.*, 1568 (Feb. 25, 1870). The measure would have levied a direct tax of fifty cents on every United States inhabitant. *Ibid.*, 3 sess., 1038 (Feb. 7, 1871).
[25] *Ibid.*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 535 (Jan. 23, 1872). Perce's bill would have created a "national education fund," invested in five per cent United States bonds, the proceeds to be distributed to the states.
[26] *Ibid.*, 569, 791, 855–56 (Jan. 24; Feb. 2, 6, 1872).
[27] *Ibid.*, 858 (Feb. 6, 1872).

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then repeated his insinuation against the sex morals of southern whites.[28]

However, the southerners were now determined to force a specific settlement of the mixed school issue before the bill came to final vote. As various minor amendments came up for consideration, Hereford presented the following amendment:

> Provided that no moneys belonging to any State or Territory under this act shall be withheld from any State or Territory for the reason that the laws thereof provided for separate schools for white children and black children, or refuse to organize a system of mixed schools.[29]

There was no debate on the proposal. The original voice vote on the amendment was close, but when George F. Hoar, a champion of mixed schools, called for the yeas and nays, forty-three did not vote. Included in the negative vote were all the principal Radical figures of the House—among them Bingham and Samuel Shellabarger of Ohio, Butler of Massachusetts, Kelley of Pennsylvania, Austin Blair of Michigan, and Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts. Virtually all those who refused to vote, however, were Republicans. Silent Republican defections, in short, had killed the mixed school clause. The following day the House passed the expurgated school bill,[30] but thereafter it died in Senate committee.

A few weeks after Hereford had been successful in gaining adoption of his amendment to the Perce bill, he was indiscreet enough to ask suspension of the House rules for a vote on the following:

> Be it resolved, that it would be contrary to the Constitution and a tyrannical usurpation of power for Congress to force mixed schools upon the States, and equally unconstitutional and tyrannical for Congress to pass any law interfering with churches, public carriers or inn keepers, such subjects of legislation belonging of right to the States respectively.

The motion to suspend the rules to vote on this resolution, however, promptly met defeat. All the principal Radical figures of the House, including Bingham, Butler, Blair, Hoar, and Kelley, voted against the proposal, while this time an even larger group of Republicans simply voted "present."[31] In other words, a considerable group in the House, one holding an actual balance of power, was unwilling to vote positively for mixed schools but at the same time would refuse to go on record in favor of the principle of seg-

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, 882 (Feb. 7, 1872). The original voice vote was 82 to 80 for the amendment; on the call for yeas and nays it was 115 to 81.

[30] *Ibid.*, 903 (Feb. 8, 1872); Lee, *Struggle for Federal Aid*, 57–60; Edward MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics* (Washington, D. C., 1872), 122.

[31] *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 1582 (Mar. 11, 1872). The vote was 61 to 85, with 94 not voting.

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regated schools, were that at all possible. In either nineteenth- or twentieth-century terms their political ambivalence is very understandable.

The campaign for mixed schools in the District of Columbia exhibited much the same inner weakness as that for desegregation through an education subsidy. The Negro school system in the District was at this time entirely distinct from that for whites, since an act of 1862 had organized the former under a separate three-man board of trustees appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.[32] Originally private in character, the Negro schools after 1862 were supported by annual appropriations from Congress, although their public status in the late 1860's was still far from unequivocal.

Beginning in January, 1870,[33] Sumner and his friends regularly introduced mixed school bills for the District in the Senate and House at every session until his death in 1874. Most of them never reached the floor, evidently because the Republican majority simply was not interested in them. In all probability there was truth in the repeated Democratic taunt that desegregation of public schools in the District struck many Republican congressmen as "too close to home."

In 1871, however, Sumner and his friends succeeded in bringing District mixed school bills out of committee and onto the floor for debate in both houses. In the Senate James W. Patterson of New Hampshire, chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to wipe out all preexisting school organization in the District and to create in its stead a single mixed school system under a superintendent, three school districts, and a common board of education. The measure carried a specific guarantee of racial integration.[34] A report from the trustees of the Negro school system, which asserted that the termination of segregated schools was not only "in the best interests of the colored people" but also "those of all classes," supported this proposal.[35] A few days later the House Committee on the District of Columbia reported out a similar measure.[36]

This little show of strength by the mixed school faction was dispelled quickly enough. In presenting his bill on the Senate floor, Patterson explained that the committee majority had added the mixed school clause over his objections, and he now moved to strike it out on the ground that it would "tend to destroy the schools of the city or to put them back ten or fifteen years." Sumner immediately protested that if the Patterson amendment

[32] 12 *United States Statutes at Large*, 537–38.
[33] *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 323 (Jan. 10, 1870).
[34] *Ibid.*, 3 sess., 1053 (Feb. 8, 1871).
[35] *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., no. 20, p. 7.
[36] *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., 1365 (Feb. 17, 1871).

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were adopted, he would "oppose this bill to the last," while Matthew Carpenter of Wisconsin, John S. Harris of Louisiana, Hiram Revels of Mississippi, Frederick Sawyer of South Carolina, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts spoke to the same end.[37]

But Allen G. Thurman of Ohio called it "despotism" to "disregard the marked differences of race that the Almighty himself has stamped upon the people," while Joshua Hill of Georgia insisted that Negroes "as a class, always prefer" segregated schools. More significantly, the great majority of senators simply remained silent. Evidently they agreed with Thomas W. Tipton of Nebraska, who expressed astonishment at the amount of time spent on the issue, asked, "Is it a crime to be practical?" and urged the Senate to get on with its business.[38] In the end, debate closed without any action whatever.

The House bill received even shorter shrift. Here the committee in reporting the measure unanimously recommended that the mixed school clause be struck out. The Radicals offered no articulate opposition to this proposal, but all sides were now disposed to bury the entire measure, which was killed by a vote to reconsider the vote by which it had been engrossed and read.[39] The explanation was simple: the advocates of mixed schools, too weak to defend the retention of the mixed school clause successfully, were not interested in the bill without it, while the Conservatives were only too glad to let the entire question die.

Of far more political significance were Sumner's repeated attempts to obtain passage of a comprehensive desegregation statute, which would include a prohibition upon racial segregation in public schools. From 1870 on the Massachusetts idealist regularly presented bills of this kind, usually for an act supplementary to the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The text of these measures was always very much the same. They proposed to prohibit discrimination in a variety of public facilities within the states—common carriers, theaters, inns, restaurants, schools, and the like—on account of race, color, or previous condition of servititude.[40] For a time they made little progress, in part through apparent lack of general interest, in part because of the hostility of Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, who as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee was in a position to kill them.[41]

[37] *Ibid.*, 1054–60 (Feb. 8, 1871).
[38] *Ibid.*, 1057, 1059–60 (Feb. 8, 1871).
[39] *Ibid.*, 1367 (Feb. 17, 1871). The vote was 88 to 71, with 81 not voting.
[40] The earliest of these bills was S. 916, introduced by Sumner May 13, 1870. *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 3434.
[41] For example, the adverse report on the 1870 bill. *Ibid.*, 5314 (July 7, 1870).

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In December, 1871, however, Sumner presented his bill as a "rider" to a general amnesty measure which had come up from the House,[42] and overnight his proposal took on an extraordinary popularity with the Senate Radicals. The explanation was evident enough: the Radicals regarded amnesty as "nothing less than an attempt to revive the Democratic party" by freeing it from the onus of treason, and they now saw in Sumner's rider a delightful weapon to deal with this menace. For the rider promised to make the amnesty bill so distasteful to conservative Republicans and Democrats that they would vote against the bill itself, thereby defeating the two-thirds majority required by the Fourteenth Amendment.[43] This could be accomplished, also, without appearing to oppose President Grant, who in his recent annual message had declared himself in favor of a general amnesty law.[44] At the same time a sop could be thrown to Negro leaders, who were beginning to insist rather strongly on a mixed school law.[45]

The Radical strategem presented one serious constitutional difficulty: it was open to question whether amnesty bills were legislation at all in any ordinary sense, and it was reasonable to argue that regular legislation had no legitimate place in them. This consideration, ably presented by Thurman, Trumbull, and other Conservatives, nearly killed the rider when Sumner first presented it to the Senate. But its obvious political advantages overrode Republican constitutional doubts, and it survived to carry over for later consideration.[46]

In late January the Senate began an extended debate on Sumner's pro-

[42] House Bill 380, passed by the House without debate in the previous session. The bill lifted the disabilities of the Fourteenth Amendment from all former members of Congress as well as army and navy officers who had resigned to support the rebellion, and from members of state conventions adopting ordinances of secession who had voted for such ordinances. *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 1 sess., 561–62 (Apr. 10, 1871).

[43] The New York *Tribune* observed that "such men as Morton, Conkling, Edmunds, Nye, and Chandler . . . are suddenly converted to Mr. Sumner's way of thinking, because it is the only way amnesty can be defeated without appearing to oppose the President." Jan. 24, 1872. See also Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston, 1947), 125–26.

[44] James Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (New York, 1897), VII, 153. The Washington *National Republican*, an administration paper, reported that Grant himself thought it "unfortunate that it [the rider] was attached to the amnesty bill." Jan. 11, 1872. The same paper condemned the Radicals' strategy, stating that "to our second-rate mind it is the merest drivel to defend such tactics." Jan. 15, 1872.

[45] A large Negro convention early in January, 1872, resolved that "the highest good of the people demands that both races be educated together." *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1872. New York *Times*, Jan. 4, 1872.

[46] When Sumner first brought up the rider in Committee of the Whole, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax ruled it in order, and the Senate sustained him, 28 to 26. Immediately thereafter, however, the Committee rejected the amendment, 29 to 30. But when the Senate reconvened in regular session a few minutes later, Sumner, over conservative protests, offered his amendment once more, and it carried over without a vote for debate in January. *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 263–74, 278 (Dec. 21, 1871).

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posal, in which both sides dealt at length with both its constitutional and social merits. The conservatives, led by Trumbull of Illinois, Thurman of Ohio, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, Garrett Davis and John W. Stevenson of Kentucky, Hill of Georgia, and Thomas J. Robertson of South Carolina, repeatedly attacked all civil rights legislation and Sumner's bill in particular as "grossly and palpably unconstitutional." This argument rested upon an extremely restrictive interpretation of the scope and effect of the Fourteenth Amendment. Thurman of Ohio, the Democrats' most effective constitutional theorist, boldly contended that the amendment actually had conferred upon Congress no new substantive legislative power at all. Instead, he said, congressional authority was limited to providing for the appellate jurisdiction of the federal courts whenever a state had "violated any of the limitations imposed."[47]

Trumbull, himself the author of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, was perforce obliged to concede that the amendment gave Congress some substantive power in the field. But he argued strenuously that guarantees against segregation were "social rights" and not "civil rights" and therefore outside the scope of the amendment. "I say it is a misnomer," he exclaimed, "to talk about this being a civil rights bill." And when Edmunds of Vermont interposed to ask "about the right to go to school," Trumbull replied firmly, "The right to go to school is not a civil right and never was."[48]

On the other hand, the Radicals argued that the "privileges or immunities" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment had endowed Congress with an extremely broad substantive power over all civil liberties. John Sherman pronounced these rights, among which he listed travel, lodgment at inns, and use of all public facilities, to be "as innumerable as the sands of the sea." The denial that attendance at public school was a civil right particularly outraged him. "It is both a right and a privilege," he insisted. If this and similar rights "are not the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," he cried, "then what in the name of human rights are the privileges and immunities of citizens?"[49] Attacking along the same general line, Morton and Carpenter both denounced Thurman's insistence that the amendment had in fact given Congress no new substantive legislative power whatsoever. "The Senator overlooks the fact," Morton said, "that the remedy for the violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was expressly not left to the courts. The remedy was legislative, because in fact the amend-

[47] *Ibid.*, 526, 761 (Jan. 23, Feb. 1, 1872).
[48] *Ibid.*, 3189 (May 8, 1872).
[49] *Ibid.*, 843–44 (Feb. 6, 1872).

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ment itself provided that it shall be enforced by legislation on the part of Congress."[50]

Both sides also had much to say of the social significance of desegregation and of mixed schools in particular. Summer thought segregated schools "an ill disguised violation of the principle of equality," whose evil effects fell even more greatly upon white children than upon Negroes. Through segregated schools, he argued, "Pharisaism of race becomes an element of character, when, like all other Pharisaisms it should be stamped out."[51] In reply, Hill of Georgia insisted that legalized segregation was no real violation of "substantial equality,"[52] while Thomas N. Norwood of Georgia argued that "the familiar association" of mixed schools implied that if Negro and white children "later see fit to join in matrimony there shall be no impediment to it."[53] Conservative Republican Orris Ferry of Connecticut warned that "we do not like it that representatives from distant states should assist us in the control of our school fund."[54] And Carl Schurz of Missouri contended that the best way to promote the welfare of the Negro was to pass the amnesty bill forthwith and allow the South to go its way in peace.[55]

To all this the Radicals replied repeatedly that southerners ought to be required to grant the Negro civil equality as a matter both of recompense and simple social and political justice if they expected consideration in amnesty matters. James W. Nye of Nevada put this point in a very popular way:

> If I had outraged the laws and Constitution of my land, if I had attempted to tear down the very temple of liberty here, and now, professing to be its friend, have not sorrow and regret enough in my heart for my bloody deeds to ask pardon, I do not deserve to be forgiven. So I take it that these friends who want to get immediately into a position to hold office had better conclude to let a Negro ride in the cars with them. . . .[56]

After some weeks of heavy and almost continuous debate, the Sumner amendment carried the day, with the casting vote of Vice-President Schuyler Colfax deciding the matter.[57] The galleries, crowded with Negroes and other Sumner supporters, gave way to "great applause," and the colored people present were unable to "restrain their joy" when the vote was an-

[50] *Ibid.*, 524 (Jan. 23, 1872).
[51] *Ibid.*, 381 ff. (Jan. 15, 1872).
[52] *Ibid.*, 491 (Feb. 6, 1872).
[53] *Ibid.*, 819 (Feb. 5, 1872).
[54] *Ibid.*, 893 (Feb. 8, 1872).
[55] *Ibid.*, 703 (Jan. 30, 1872).
[56] *Ibid.*, 495 (Jan. 22, 1872).
[57] *Ibid.*, 919 (Feb. 9, 1872). The vote was 28 to 28.

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nounced.[58] Virtually the entire Radical Republican phalanx, including Simon Cameron, Roscoe Conkling, Zachariah Chandler, Pomeroy, Sherman, James Harlan of Iowa, Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, and Wilson, voted for the rider.[59] On the other hand, Republicans Schurz, Trumbull, and Lot M. Morrill of Maine voted with the Democrats, North and South, against it.

As the Radicals well knew, adoption of the rider doomed the entire amnesty bill to defeat. A few minutes later the Senate voted in favor of the measure, but with two votes less than the required constitutional majority, so that the bill was dead.[60] Significantly, many ardent supporters of general amnesty, among them Thurman, Trumbull, Saulsbury, and Tipton, voted against the bill in its final form.

In May the Senate took up a new general amnesty bill which had come up from the House some time earlier, only to have the measure encounter the same fate as its predecessor. Again, Sumner immediately introduced his civil rights rider as an amendment; again, after protracted parliamentary maneuvering the Senate adopted the rider with the aid of Vice-President Colfax's casting vote. And once more the Senate immediately thereafter voted in favor of the bill, but again this failed to constitute the necessary two-thirds constitutional majority.[61]

Almost overnight, however, the Radical attitude toward amnesty and civil rights underwent a change. The new factor in the situation was the Liberal Republican "rebellion" then in progress. Early in May the Liberals' convention in Cincinnati adopted a party plank calling for "the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities on account of the rebellion."[62] The subsequent nomination of Horace Greeley gave the Liberal movement an almost farcical quality; nevertheless the Republican fear was soon apparent that the Liberals' amnesty plank might win southern white Republicans over to Greeley's support.

Republican strategy now called for swift passage of an amnesty bill—as the New York *Times* put it, "to heal the party breach" and "to destroy Greeley's support in the South."[63] In the Senate, John A. Logan of Illinois stated bluntly that Sumner's rider had now become extremely untimely, a

[58] New York *Tribune*, Feb. 10, 1874.

[59] Carpenter of Wisconsin, a Radical, finally voted against the rider because he believed that the measure's provision requiring integration in churches violated the First Amendment.

[60] *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 929 (Feb. 9, 1872). The vote was 33 to 19.

[61] *Ibid.*, 3268, 3270 (May 9, 1872). The vote on the rider was 28 to 28; on the bill, 32 to 22.

[62] Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York, 1924), I, 343; New York *Times*, May 4, 1872.

[63] New York *Times*, May 9, 11, 22, 1872; Chicago *Tribune*, May 22, 1872.

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"lion in the pathway" of an amnesty bill necessary to counteract the "Cincinnati movement."[64] President Grant was already on record as opposed to the union of amnesty and civil rights,[65] and early in May a Republican caucus found an actual majority of senators in favor of abandoning the rider.[66] Republican concern for Sumner's feeling did not count too greatly, for he had flirted openly with the Cincinnati movement and expressed personal sympathy for Greeley.[67] Of course, all this meant that the civil rights rider had to be abandoned and the amnesty bill rushed through without it, even though some nominal gesture toward civil rights might still be necessary to appease Negro leaders.[68]

In an all-night session the Senate Republicans, led by Edmunds, Carpenter, Conkling, and Logan, struck a carefully negotiated bargain with Thurman and the other Democrats. The Democrats agreed to allow an emasculated version of the Sumner bill—carefully "shorn of its most objectionable features," the school clause and the jury provision—to come to an immediate vote without further debate. In return, the Republicans promised that immediately following the civil rights vote they would call up one of the pending general amnesty bills already enacted by the House and pass it at once without amendment, so that it could become law upon Grant's signature.[69]

Once agreed upon, the bargain came off almost without incident. The civil rights bill passed with the Democrats duly voting "nay." Sumner had been absent during these proceedings; arriving just before the amnesty vote, he pleaded for a mixed school clause and in desperation once more offered his bill as a rider. But the Senate coldly voted him down and then passed the amnesty bill.[70]

The Senate civil rights bill was quite obviously nothing more than a device to save party face with Negro leaders. Not only were the school and jury clauses missing; it was also too late in the session to hope for favorable House action.[71] But Republicans were jubilant at their amnesty coup, which

[64] *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 3260 (May 9, 1872).
[65] Washington *National Republican*, Jan. 11, 1872.
[66] New York *Tribune*, May 1, 1872; New York *Herald*, May 11, 1872.
[67] New York *Times*, May 1, 17, 22, 1872; Washington *National Republican*, May 1, 1872; New York *Tribune*, May 1, 1872.
[68] As late as mid-May, Conkling in letters to the Negro convention in Washington strongly championed mixed schools and civil rights generally. New York *Times*, May 10, 13, 1872.
[69] *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 3730–36 (May 21, 1872).
[70] *Ibid.*, 3736–38 (May 21, 1872). The civil rights bill passed 27 to 14. The Senate defeated Sumner's rider 13 to 29 and passed the amnesty bill 39 to 2.
[71] The House killed the bill, when motions "to take up" twice failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. *Ibid.*, 3932, 4322 (May 28; June 7, 1872).

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had "knocked away one of the most important planks in the Cincinnati platform."[72]

The civil rights question remained virtually at rest for the next two years. But in December, 1873, as the Forty-Third Congress convened, the issue arose once more. In the Senate, Sumner again presented his bill as an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1866.[73] In the House, Butler of Massachusetts, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and the administration's party floor leader, introduced a somewhat similar measure.[74] Both were extremely comprehensive, and both carried very strongly worded mixed school clauses.[75] Apparently the Radicals had decided that the insistent demand of Negro voters for civil rights legislation had become too strong to be ignored. Significantly, Grant in his annual message to Congress for the first time specifically recommended passage of a law "to better secure the civil rights" of the "enfranchised slave."[76]

The Butler bill came up for debate early in January, 1874, before galleries crowded with Negro spectators.[77] The conservative opponents of the measure at once seized upon the Supreme Court's recent dictum in the Slaughter-house cases, which had all but destroyed the force of the "privileges or immunities" clause,[78] to denounce the bill as hopelessly unconstitutional. The aged and withered Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, who delivered the principal speech for the Democrats, used Justice Samuel Miller's opinion to reinforce the oft-repeated conservative contention that the amendment had bestowed no rights whatsoever definable or enforceable by Congress. Applying this analysis to the mixed school question, he asserted that Justice Miller's opinion meant that a state still retained the right "to say who may, or may not, be admitted into her public schools."[79] Harris of Virginia, Milton J. Durham of Kentucky, John N. Bright of Tennessee, and Roger Q. Mills and William S. Herndon of Texas stressed much the same argument.[80]

[72] Providence *Journal*, May 27, 1872. The Boston *Daily Globe* observed that the "amnesty bill takes the point out of Mr. Greeley's letter of acceptance." May 23, 1872. The New York *Times* thought that passage of the Amnesty Act "sweeps away the strongest plank in the amnesty raft." May 23, 1872. See also James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1886), II, 514–15.

[73] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 2 (Dec. 2, 1873).

[74] *Ibid.*, 318 (Dec. 18, 1873).

[75] Sumner's bill would have forbidden racial segregation in "common schools and public schools of learning or benevolence supported, in whole or in part, by general taxation." *Ibid.*, 3451 (Apr. 29, 1874). Butler's bill prohibited segregation in all schools "supported in whole or in part at public expense or by endowment for public use," language that covered many private as well as all public schools. *Ibid.*, 378 (Jan. 5, 1874).

[76] Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 255.

[77] New York *Times*, Jan. 6, 1874.

[78] 16 Wallace 36 (1873).

[79] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 380–81 (Jan. 5, 1874).

[80] *Ibid.*, 376, 383, 405, 414, 420 (Jan. 5, 6, 1874).

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William Lawrence of Ohio, a much-respected man who had participated in the 1866 debates on the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, presented the most effective constitutional reply for the bill's supporters. Recognizing the great damage which the Court had done to the "privilege or immunities" clause, he fell back heavily upon "equal protection," hitherto little heard of in civil rights debates. "Equal protection," he said, "must not be understood in any restrictive sense, but must include every benefit to be derived from law." Citing evidence from the 1866 debates in the House, he argued with some cogency that this had been the true intent of the framers of the amendment.[81]

Even more than two years earlier the social implications of the mixed school question were uppermost in everyone's mind. One southerner, Harris, quoted a letter from the Virginia superintendent of public instruction warning that the Butler bill would "immediately wipe out or practically destroy" the public schools of his state.[82] Stephens insisted that the colored people of Georgia, who already had their own schools and state university, "have no desire or wish for mixed schools."[83] And John D. Atkins of Tennessee, after asserting that God had "stamped the fiat of his condemnation" upon mixed marriages, which brought "decay and death," asked rhetorically, "Why have not the states the power to keep the races apart in the schools and elsewhere?"[84]

Butler presently retaliated with equally heavy tactics. "Was there any objection in the South," he asked, "to consorting with the Negro as a slave? Oh no," he said, "Your children and your servants' children played together; your children suckled the same mother with your servants' children; and, unless tradition speaks falsely, sometimes had the same father."[85]

Nonetheless, Butler, after two days of debate, suddenly withdrew the bill to the Judiciary Committee once more, indicating as he did so some doubt about the efficacy of the mixed school clause.[86] In reality, Butler was under extremely heavy Republican pressure to kill the mandatory mixed school clause. Barnas Sears, the highly influential general agent of the Peabody Education Fund, had been engaged for some time in a campaign to kill the mixed school clause, which he regarded as threatening with "total destruc-

[81] *Ibid.*, 412 (Jan. 6, 1874).
[82] *Ibid.*, 377 (Jan. 5, 1874). The Virginia representatives were stirred in particular by a joint resolution adopted by the Virginia Assembly on January 5, 1874, by large majorities, which threatened openly that if the Butler bill became law, the state would destroy the school system of Virginia rather than submit to mixed schools.
[83] *Ibid.*, 381 (Jan. 5, 1874).
[84] *Ibid.*, 453 (Jan. 7, 1874).
[85] *Ibid.*, 457 (Jan. 7, 1874).
[86] *Ibid.*, 457–58 (Jan. 7, 1874).

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tion" all the recently developed white-Negro public school systems in the southern states. Sears interviewed Butler, Ebenezer R. Hoar, and numerous other friends of the bill, seeking "to induce them to omit the clause altogether, or to require only equal *privileges* of education without mixing the two races in the schools." Sears also saw President Grant, who, significantly enough, was a member of the Peabody Board of Trustees, and also obtained from him a promise to be "reasonable" about the mixed school question.[87]

Opposition of this kind was too powerful to be ignored. Since 1868 the Peabody Fund had been spending in the neighborhood of a hundred thousand dollars annually on subsidies for public schools, both white and Negro, in the southern states. Its trustees, largely composed of Republicans, included figures of such stature as Hamilton Fish, Admiral David Farragut, and President Grant himself. Sears, a former long-time president of Brown University, had the complete confidence of his trustees. This was more pressure than Butler was prepared to resist. The bill went back to committee,[88] to remain there until the following January.

The Senate was somewhat less amenable to pressure of this kind, and late in the session it passed the Sumner bill with the mixed school clause intact. Apparently, however, it took the action in considerable part as a memorial to the Massachusetts idealist, who had died the previous March.[89] The debate, which began in late April, followed much the same lines as that in the House. Thurman dwelt forcibly upon the Slaughterhouse opinion to underline his contention that Congress could not constitutionally deal with public schools.[90] In reply, Morton, Timothy Howe of Wisconsin, and F. T. Freylinghuysen of New Jersey followed Lawrence's lead in shifting to a new emphasis of the equal protection clause.

The "separate but equal" argument also played a prominent part in Senate debate for the first time. Augustus Merriman of Ohio first admitted frankly that the Fourteenth Amendment did indeed touch the right to go to school, but contended that segregation was nonetheless constitutional if a state "shall make the same provision for the black race that it makes for the

[87] Sears to Robert C. Winthrop, Chairman of the Peabody Board, Jan. 8, 1874, reprinted in J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), 64–65.

[88] New York *Tribune,* Jan. 8, 1874; New York *Times,* Jan. 8, 1874. Sears's annual reports, containing extensive observations on the implications of mixed schools, are in *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund,* I (Boston, 1875).

[89] Sumner's last words were a charge to E. R. Hoar to "take care of the civil rights bill." Moorfield Storey and Edward W. Emerson, *Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar: A Memoir* (Boston, 1911), 240.

[90] *Cong. Record,* 43 Cong., 1 sess., 4084–88 (May 20, 1874).

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white race."[91] But Edmunds of Vermont called the "separate but equal" argument fraudulent, and amassed a careful array of statistics to prove that the practical effect of segregation was to "destroy equality of opportunity for the Negro child."[92]

As in the House, also, a sharp dispute developed over the social implications of mixed schools. A. A. Sargent of California warned that in certain states mixed schools "will break up and utterly destroy, certainly for a long time to come, the efficacy of the common school system"[93] while John W. Johnston of Virginia warned that if Negro voters persisted in encouraging "such unconstitutional interferences as are now sought, they will wake up one of these mornings to find the doors of every public school house in the State barred to all educational advantages for their own and white children alike."[94] George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts asserted in reply that mixed schools were imperative to the growth of American democracy; in them, he said, "Negro and white alike" would eventually "be assimilated and made one in the fundamental ideal of human equality."[95]

On May 22, 1874, the Senate, after an exhausting all-night session, passed Sumner's bill. Virtually the entire Republican membership present lined up behind the measure.[96] Although the House had ample time to pass the bill before adjournment, that chamber exhibited a decided lassitude in the matter.[97] Both the Butler and Sumner bills thus carried over without further action to the next session of the Congress.

When the second session of the Forty-Third Congress assembled in December, 1874, the political situation superficially appeared to make the passage of either of the two pending civil rights bills extremely unlikely. The congressional elections in the previous fall had resulted in a Democratic landslide, so that more than half of the Republicans in the House were now "lame ducks."[98] President Grant was reported to entertain the conviction that the Radical stand on civil rights was in part responsible for the Repub-

[91] *Ibid.*, appendix, 358–61 (May 21, 1874).
[92] *Ibid.*, 4173 (May 22, 1874).
[93] *Ibid.*, 4172 (May 22, 1874).
[94] *Ibid.*, 4114 (May 21, 1874).
[95] *Ibid.*, 4116 (May 21, 1874). Boutwell also argued that "separate but equal" facilities were a financial impossibility.
[96] *Ibid.*, 4176 (May 22, 1874). The vote was 29 to 16.
[97] Butler failed on May 25 to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote to refer the Sumner bill to the House Judiciary Committee for report and possible action. The vote, 152 to 85, showed numerous moderate Republicans refusing to support Butler, even though he promised the House to strike out the mixed school clause. There were similar failures on June 1 and June 7. *Ibid.*, 4242, 4439, 5162 (May 25; June 1, 7, 1874).
[98] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1908), VII, 62, 132.

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lican defeat,[99] and, significantly, he dropped all mention of a civil rights act in his annual message.[100] Quite conceivably, Republican leaders in Congress might have quietly abandoned both the Butler and Sumner bills, and simply "marked time" until a Republican return to power.

Instead, Butler, Morton, and the other Radical leaders in Congress decided to push a comprehensive legislative program through the two houses, and for tactical reasons they pushed the Butler bill into a commanding position in the forefront of that program. The Radical program, as it took shape, consisted of two principal parts: a series of bills intended to strengthen the Republican position in the South, and a variety of subsidy bills for various railroad interests. Principal measures for the South were a new enforcement bill, which among other things granted the President sweeping powers to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in several southern states;[101] a two-year army appropriation bill;[102] and the Butler civil rights bill. The most controversial subsidy bill was one to guarantee the bonds and otherwise underwrite the construction of the Texas Pacific Railroad.[103]

Radical administration Republicans were soon openly arguing that the party's success in the elections of 1876 hung on the enactment of these measures. The proposed enforcement act, they asserted, would enable the President to suppress the "white leagues" and other illicit activity against southern Republicans, Negroes, and federal authority generally, while the army act would make it possible for the President to maintain troops in the South in the next two years without depending upon the caprice of a hostile Democratic Congress. The Washington *National Republican,* a Grant- Butler administration newspaper, thought the two bills "essential to the survival of the party and the nation" and admitted that if enacted they would "secure to the Republican Party all of the southern states" in 1876.[104] The same paper acknowledged that Tom Scott and his lieutenants were bringing "powerful but entirely legitimate influences" to bear for the passage of the Texas Pacific bill, but argued that railroad subsidies were necessary to promote eco-

[99] New York *Tribune,* Dec. 5, 1874.

[100] The message merely emphasized the Negro's rights "as a citizen and voter." Richardson, *Messages,* VII, 299. The *Nation* thought that Grant already had virtually given "official notice" that he would veto the bill if Congress passed it. XIX, (Dec. 3, 1874), 357. However, at least one Republican, Walter Phelps of New Jersey, had been beaten apparently because of his opposition to the civil rights bill. *Ibid.,* XIX (Nov. 12, 1874), 309.

[101] *Cong. Record,* 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1748 (Feb. 24, 1875).

[102] As introduced, the bill covered only appropriations to July 1, 1876. *Ibid.,* 11, 1511–19 (Dec. 7, 1874; Feb. 19, 1875). Because of opposition in the Republican caucus, the necessary two-year amendment was never actually presented. See below.

[103] *Ibid.,* 950, 1500, 1882 (Feb. 3, 19, 27, 1875).

[104] Feb. 11, 17, 1875.

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nomic recovery and to align railroad capitalists and big business with the Republican party in the forthcoming election.[105]

On the other hand, many moderate Republicans, among them such influential party figures as James A. Garfield, William Dawes of Massachusetts, Walter Phelps of New Jersey, and even Speaker James G. Blaine himself, were opposed to parts or all of the Radical program.[106] They were skeptical of continued army rule in the South, fearful that passage of the force bill or the two-year army act would mean "a third term for Grant," and suspicious that passage of the Texas Pacific bill might inaugurate a series of ruthless raids on the Treasury. Liberal Republicans and Democrats, of course, saw the entire Radical program as a frank attempt to preserve anarchy in the South[107] and to set the stage for a "gigantic steal of $29,000,000 for Tom Scott."[108]

It was obvious that this program had no chance of enactment in a short session without a change in the House rules to destroy the Democrats' power to filibuster. The House rules as then constituted permitted repeated dilatory motions during debate to adjourn and to "fix a day" for adjournment.[109] Suspension or modification of the rules would require Butler to muster a two-thirds vote of the House, but without this move the entire Radical program faced failure.

[105] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1875. On Scott's lobbying activities, see New York *Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1874; Feb. 13, 1875.

[106] Blaine, Garfield, Dawes, and Phelps all opposed the force bill and the two-year army act in the Republican caucus; Blaine was reported to have argued that the enforcement bill "means a third term." New York *Tribune*, Feb. 13, 15, 18, 1875. Some accounts assert that Blaine himself suggested to L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi the parliamentary maneuver that delayed passage of the force bill in the House and so ultimately blocked Senate enactment. Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), 187; Edward Mayes, *L. Q. C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches* (Nashville, Tenn., 1896), 507. Butler soon quarreled bitterly with Blaine over the latter's opposition to the Republican program. Springfield *Republican*, Mar. 1, 1875. Garfield thought the Radical program and the intervention in Louisiana might result in "the disruption of the Republican party." *Correspondence between James A. Garfield and Burke Aaron Hinsdale*, ed. Mary L. Hinsdale, (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1949), 309. Republican Henry Pierce of Massachusetts thought the force bill "worse than useless" and "working solely for the continuation of party supremacy," while Luke Poland of Vermont, G. F. Hoar, and H. B. Smith of New York all thought it grossly unconstitutional. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1885–86; appendix, 142 (Feb. 27, 1875). More than fifty Republicans voted with the Democrats in late February to keep the Texas Pacific bill off the House calendar. *Ibid.*, 1600–1601 (Feb. 22, 1875).

[107] The *Nation* asserted that the force bill would convert the President into a "sort of tawdry Caesar." XX (Feb. 18, 1875), 108. Charles Eldredge of Wisconsin called it "a most infamous measure"; Samuel S. Cox of New York thought it the culmination of "ten years of mockery" of liberty; James B. Beck of Kentucky condemned the bill as "revolutionary." *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1886, 1915, appendix, 142 (Feb. 27, 1875). Of course, the President's military intervention in Louisiana merely increased moderate Republican and Democratic disgust with the Radical program. Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (2d. ed., New York, 1957), II, 748–61.

[108] New York *Tribune*, Feb. 18, 1875.

[109] For Blaine's exposition of the rule see *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 786 ff. (Jan. 27, 1875).

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Butler accordingly decided to make his civil rights bill the spearhead of a House fight for a rules change.[110] Thereby the bill suddenly assumed a political significance entirely out of proportion to its original importance in the Radical program. Why Butler decided to use his civil rights bill for this purpose is not entirely clear. The measure was anathema to the Democratic minority, while many Radicals were expressing open skepticism as to the wisdom, in terms of party strategy, of enacting the bill at all.[111] But Butler's own prestige was to some extent bound up with the measure, while not a few Republicans thought it morally desirable and politically sound.[112]

Before the bill could serve party purposes adequately in a rules fight, however, it was necessary to eliminate the mandatory mixed school clause. In mid-December, the House Judiciary Committee, after a sharp internal struggle, struck out the critical clause and replaced it with one permitting "separate but equal" facilities in public schools.[113] This decision, which effectively emasculated the bill, was principally Butler's. Although he offered no public explanation for his action, the reasons for it were evident enough. The President's opposition to the clause had become well known, while the Peabody Fund had recently issued another strong denunciation of any federal mixed school law.[114] A number of state superintendents in the South lately had warned repeatedly that a civil rights bill would ruin both white and Negro education in the South for an indefinite period.[115] Numerous southern Republicans were warning that a mixed school law would badly damage the party in the South, and was not desired by either whites or Negroes.[116]

[110] New York *Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1875.

[111] The Washington *National Republican* thought Negroes little interested in the measure and that they preferred their own schools. Dec. 5, 1874.

[112] *Harper's Weekly* campaigned for the bill with the mixed school clause as an "act of justice and party necessity." XVIII (Nov. 14; Dec. 19, 1874), 930, 1038. Vice-President Wilson wrote that the civil rights bill would help remedy the party's defeat by helping to rally old Whigs and Negroes into the Republican party in the South. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1875.

[113] A subcommittee headed by Butler, Poland of Vermont, and Alexander White of Alabama first reported the modified Butler bill with a "separate but equal" clause. This action elicited bitter objection from John Cessna of Pennsylvania, Jeremiah M. Wilson of Indiana, William P. Frye of Maine, and Jasper D. Ward of Illinois. The full committee of eleven members then took more than twenty votes without coming to any agreement. But a motion to substitute the Senate bill and thereby restore a mandatory mixed school provision then failed, 7 to 4, and the committee voted to report out the bill with Butler's amendment. Washington *National Republican*, Dec. 17, 1874; New York *Tribune*, Dec. 16, 17, 1874.

[114] The trustees had adopted a resolution, the work of a subcommittee headed by the distinguished attorney, William R. Evarts, which asserted that "the prospects and hopes of the public system of education in the South will receive a serious, if not fatal, blow" from any mandatory mixed school law, "which would fall very heavily upon the colored people." *Peabody Fund Proceedings*, I, 409–12, 436–39.

[115] *Ibid.*, 420; *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 377 (Jan. 5, 1874).

[116] The Alabama Republican Convention of August, 1874, warned the party that "the Republican party in Alabama does not desire or seek mixed schools or accommodations for the colored people." *Nation*, XIX (Sept. 17, 1874), 180–81.

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Some evidence indicated that a few southern whites, including some of impeccable political antecedents, actually favored mixed schools as a means of quieting racial hostility, and ex-Confederate General P. T. Beauregard had been working to that end for some time.[117] But Butler must have realized that a mixed school clause would so weaken the bill's support among southern Republican Radicals and moderate Republicans generally that it could not possibly serve him as the "cutting edge" he desired it to be in the forthcoming rules fight. Accordingly, the mixed school clause was removed.

The rules fight began when Cessna of Pennsylvania, a Butler lieutenant, introduced a motion to forbid all dilatory motions "during the remainder of the present session."[118] This motion failed to muster the two-thirds majority required for its adoption. Eighteen Republicans, including such notables as Robert S. Hale of New York, Phelps of New Jersey, and John A. Kasson of Iowa, joined the solid Democratic phalanx in voting "nay," while Garfield of Ohio, Dawes of Massachusetts, and Kelley of Pennsylvania simply "dodged."[119] Not only was the proposal manifestly unfair; everyone also recognized that Butler's "real object" was passage of the enforcement bill and prospective army act.[120] Moreover, both Democrats and many Republicans feared that Butler's "hidden purpose" was enactment of the Texas Pacific bill[121] and perhaps, as Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania put it, "every conceivable scheme of public plunder."[122]

With the Cessna amendment hopelessly defeated, Butler moved to call up his civil rights bill and place it on the House calendar.[123] Since the bill had been recommitted the previous January, House rules also required a two-thirds vote on this procedure. The Democrats opening a major filibuster in response, forced seventy-five votes on dilatory motions within the next

[117] *Harper's Weekly*, XVIII (Nov. 14, 1874), 930; T. Harry Williams, "The Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (Aug., 1945), 349–69.

[118] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 700 (Jan. 25, 1875). A Republican caucus in the House had decided on the move. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1875.

[119] *Cong. Record*, 701 (Jan. 25, 1874). A few moments later, Butler's motion to take up the Senate civil rights bill, a momentary tactical move which had been agreed on in the caucus, failed, 147 to 93, to gain the required two-thirds majority. Significantly, numerous Republican moderates, including Garfield and Hale, now voted "yea." *Ibid.*, 704.

[120] The New York *Tribune* called the civil rights bill a "mere facade" for Cessna's motion. Jan. 26, 1875. The Washington *National Republican* warned that "there are matters of more importance than the civil rights bill that will find their final resting place unless the rule [requiring two-thirds vote for closure in the House] is suspended." Jan. 26, 1875.

[121] The New York *Tribune* reported that Texas Pacific lobbyists and proponents of the notorious "Chorpening claim" worked openly on the floor to obtain passage of the Cessna rule. Jan. 26, 1875.

[122] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 700 (Jan. 25, 1874). The Washington *National Republican* admitted that the "real fear" of the Republican moderates was that the Cessna proposal "would open the treasury to all manner of plunder." Jan. 27, 1875.

[123] Technically, Butler moved to reconsider the vote whereby the bill had been recommitted the previous January. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 785 (Jan. 27, 1875).

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forty-eight hours, while the House remained in continuous session.[124] It was still quite generally recognized that the "real issue" was passage of the enforcement bill and the two-year army act.[125] At the end of two days Butler surrendered and permitted an adjournment. His leadership in the House was by this time badly damaged, but Garfield and other Republican moderates were disgusted with Democratic tactics, and they decided to intervene.[126]

Over the weekend, Speaker James G. Blaine called the House Rules Committee together. This body decided to submit to the House a proposed permanent rules change suggested by Garfield, whereby dilatory motions during debate would be virtually prohibited. But in return there could be no closure on the first day of debate without a three-fourths majority vote. Far more moderate than the defeated Cessna proposal, the Garfield proposal would probably insure the passage of the civil rights bill. At the same time, however, it promised to make virtually impossible the enactment of the remainder of the Radical program, simply because debate would be slowed down enough so that there would not be time.[127]

The Rules Committee attempted to present its proposal for a vote, and a new and incredibly complex parliamentary fight forthwith ensued. The Democrats fought desperately to block all rules change, but after a series of failures the Republicans finally mustered the two-thirds vote required on a motion to suspend the rules and allow the Committee to submit its proposal.[128] The House then adopted the Garfield rule, after first amending it to permit closure on the first day of debate by a two-thirds vote.[129] A final attempt by Butler to kill the one-day closure delay failed when Blaine him-

[124] *Ibid.*, 785–829 (Jan. 27, 1875).

[125] The "real issue," said the Washington *National Republican*, "is the loss or preservation to the Republican party of one hundred and thirty-eight electoral votes" in the southern states. Feb. 1, 1875. See also New York *Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1875; New York *World*, Jan. 26; Feb. 1, 1875; Chicago *Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1875.

[126] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 829 (Jan. 27, 1875). Garfield wrote in indignation that Democratic tactics constituted "tyranny" and asserted that while he had opposed the Cessna amendment, "I am for making such changes in the rules as shall not make such obstruction possible." *Correspondence*, ed. Hinsdale, 316.

[127] The rule permitted one dilatory motion to adjourn and one motion to fix a day to adjourn in any debate. It prohibited "the previous question" on the first day of any debate, except by a three-fourths majority. But, significantly, it also provided that the new rule "shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate money or credit or property of the United States, except the regular annual appropriation bills." *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 880 (Feb. 1, 1875). Thus the rule obviously would permit unlimited debate on the Texas Pacific bill and similar subsidy measures. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1875; Washington *National Republican*, Feb. 1, 1875.

[128] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 880–92 (Feb. 1, 1875). The vote, on a motion presented by Kasson of Iowa, was 181 to 90.

[129] *Ibid.*, 901–902 (Feb. 1, 1875). The amended rule passed 171 to 85, although with the rules suspended it required only a simple majority vote.

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self took the floor to oppose the change.[130] The death of the enforcement, army, and subsidy bills was now virtually assured.[131]

Although Butler had failed in his apparent larger purpose, the way was now open for passage of his civil rights bill, and he accordingly called it up for debate. Immediately thereafter he yielded by arrangement for a new amendment to strike out entirely all reference to public schools. Of course, this was merely a somewhat less obvious way of accomplishing the same purpose as Butler's "separate but equal" clause; in either event the bill would not now carry any prohibition directed against school segregation.[132]

Although removal of the mandatory mixed school clause had cut the very heart out of the bill, there was no open dissent on the floor. On the contrary, debate elicited from the Republican Negro Richard Cain of South Carolina an expression of belief that southern Negroes did not particularly desire mixed schools. Questioned directly, he replied that "So far as my experience is concerned, I do not believe they do."[133] And when Phelps of New Jersey, a moderate Republican, added the warning that "If Congress sought thus to regulate the schools, the southern states will give you no schools to regulate," there was no disposition to disagree.[134]

The debate in the House was characterized by great bitterness, although it produced little that was new. Butler repeatedly taunted the southerners with charges of lawlessness and sexual promiscuity. John Y. Brown of Kentucky in turn made an unrestrained verbal attack on Butler, for which the House rebuked him with a formal resolution of censure.[135] An amusing and impish feature of the debate was the adoption by a large majority of the clause on civil rights from the Democratic party platform of 1872 as the preamble to the bill.[136]

[130] Butler charged that "with the country breaking into civil war," the Garfield rule was deliberately designed to allow one-day filibusters, and that there would now be no new way to get legislation before the House. *Ibid.*, 896–99 (Feb. 1, 1875). However, the Washington *National Republican* thought the rules change decisive enough to allow enactment of the bills for the South and so to "produce ultimate Republican victory" in 1876. Feb. 4, 1875. See also New York *Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1875, and New York *Times*, Feb. 3, 1875.

[131] The Texas Pacific bill died February 22 when a move to place it on the House calendar failed 117 to 126. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1600–1601 (Feb. 27, 1875). The enforcement bill passed the House 135 to 114, but the Senate failed to act. *Ibid.*, 1935, 2035 (Feb. 27; Mar. 1, 1875). Blaine, Garfield, and Poland all had opposed the bill in caucus, while Blaine's delaying tactics left no time for the Senate to act. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 89–90; Edward Stanwood, *James G. Blaine* (Boston, 1905), 117–18. The one-year army bill became law, but the two-year amendment failed of introduction in either house. Washington *National Republican*, Feb. 11, 17, 1875; New York *Evening Post*, Feb. 26, 1875.

[132] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 938–39 (Feb. 3, 1875).

[133] *Ibid.*, 981–82 (Feb. 4, 1875).

[134] *Ibid.*, 1002 (Feb. 4, 1875).

[135] *Ibid.*, 991–92 (Feb. 4, 1875). See also Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast!* (New York, 1957), 7–10, 230–31, and Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar*, 187–91.

[136] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1011 (Feb. 4, 1875). The vote was 218 to 26. The

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After two days of discussion the House passed the Kellogg amendment by a large majority. An attempt to restore the mixed school clause by striking out the entire text of the Butler bill and substituting that of the Senate bill failed, and the Butler bill then passed.[137] All affirmative votes were Republican; no Democrat voted for the measure. Significantly, fourteen Republicans voted against the bill, all but two of them from the South.

Mixed school legislation was altogether dead. When the Butler bill reached the Senate in late February, the Radicals made no attempt whatsoever to restore the school clause, nor did they attempt to take up once more the text of the Senate bill passed the previous May. After two days of sparse debate under closure rules, the Senate passed the House bill without amendment.[138] The Civil Rights Act of 1875 then became law on March 1, with President Grant's signature.[139]

The new law attracted no great attention and was generally regarded as little more than a tactical device in Radical party strategy. The Washington *National Republican* bluntly described it as "a mere piece of legislative sentimentality," while the *Nation* thought it "a harmless bill," the principal objection to it being its "entire unconstitutionality." Negro public opinion apparently showed little interest in the act once the school clause had been stricken out. *Harper's Weekly* asserted dourly that the act had been "emasculated." It bitterly condemned Butler, who "in striking the school section out of the bill struck at the principle of the whole Republican policy of Reconstruction."[140] In actual practice the new law proved to have little meaning. The Supreme Court was to declare it unconstitutional in entirety in 1883.[141]

purpose of the amendment was, of course, to embarrass the Democratic minority by compelling them either to accept the preamble or to vote against their own platform. New York *Times*, Feb. 6, 1875.

[137] *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1010–11 (Feb. 4, 1875). The vote on the Kellogg amendment was 128 to 48; on the Butler bill, 162 to 99.

[138] *Ibid.*, 1870 (Feb. 27, 1875). The vote was 38 to 26. An attempted filibuster was soon abandoned. New York *Times*, Feb. 27, 1875.

[139] 18 *United States Statutes at Large*, 333. The law stipulated that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment" in inns, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, and "other places of public amusement," subject only to provisions "applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude." It made violation of the statute a misdemeanor subject to a fine of five hundred to one thousand dollars and imprisonment of thirty days to one year, and permitted civil suits for damages of five hundred dollars for each offense.

[140] Washington *National Republican*, Feb. 6, 1875; *Nation*, XX (Mar. 4, 1875), 141; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 3, 1875; *Harper's Weekly*, XVIII (Mar. 20, 1875), 231.

[141] *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U. S. 2. Ironically, a mandatory school clause would have survived the Court's test of constitutionality. Justice Bradley rested his opinion on the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited only certain forms of state action, whereas the statute prohibited various acts by private persons, a distinction which would have left a prohibition on segregation in public schools intact.

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Thus by 1875 Congress had reached a kind of negative decision regarding a possible federal statute prohibiting segregated schools. After lengthy debate it had decided not to interfere. In effect, this left the issue of segregated schools up to the several states. By the 1880's most of the northern states prohibited segregated schools, either by constitutional provision, statute, or court decision.[142] At the same time, the southern and border states, as rapidly as they were able, either made segregated schools mandatory or struck all reference to mixed schools from their laws.[143]

Thus when the Supreme Court in *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* (1896)[144] finally spoke in favor of the constitutionality of "separate but equal" facilities, it merely gave sanction to a long-established situation that had been generally accepted for a generation. The Court's opinion also undoubtedly reflected accurately the dominant American public opinion and social myths of the day. It was to stand for two generations as "the law of the land," until at length a new wave of "Radical" idealism on the Negro question, inspired by much the same spirit that had moved Charles Sumner, reached the Court and broke down the "separate but equal" dictum.

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[142] See, for example, *Michigan Session Laws,* 1867, I, 43; *Clark* vs. *Board of Directors,* 24 *Iowa* 266 (1868); *Illinois Laws,* 1874, p. 62; *Pennsylvania Laws,* 1881, p. 220; *New Jersey Pamph. Laws,* 1881, p. 196; 84 *Ohio Laws* (1887), 34; *Conn. School Laws of 1872,* chap. 3, sec. 23; *Minn. School Law,* 1873, title I, sec. 47; *R. I. Gen. Stat.* 1874, chap. 58; sec. 1. A few northern states maintained racial school segregation until after 1900. See *People ex rel. Gallagher,* 93 *N. Y.* 438 (1883); *People ex rel. Cisco* vs. *Board,* 161 *N. Y.* 598 (1900); 3 *Ind. Stat.* (1869) 472; *Cory* vs. *Carter,* 48 *Ind.* 327 (1874); *State* vs. *Duffy,* 7 *Nev.* 342 (1874).

[143] Georgia (1877), North Carolina (1876), and Tennessee (1870) adopted mandatory constitutional provisions. See Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions,* I, 868; V, 2838; VI, 3469. Louisiana in 1877 struck out its mandatory mixed school constitutional provision. *Ibid.,* III, 1508. See also *Virginia Laws,* 1869–70, p. 413; *Kentucky Gen. Stat.,* 1887, p. 1180 (for 1874 law); and West Virginia and Missouri constitutional provisions of 1872 and 1875 in Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions,* VII, 4061, and IV, 2263. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange History of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), points out how much more rapidly the South moved toward school segregation than it did toward other aspects of racial segregation.

[144] 163 U. S. 537.

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Privy Council Schemes and Ministerial Responsibility in Later Stuart England

CLAYTON ROBERTS

OF the many constitutional formulae proclaimed in the coffee houses of late seventeenth-century London, few met with more eager assent than the assertion that the king should hearken to the advice of his Privy Council in all important matters of state. This was one of the pious platitudes of the day, one of the favorite shibboleths of the Country party politician. The king, it was asserted, should put away the unsteady counsels of court favorites and foreign ambassadors, should spurn the advice of "cabinet councils" and "private cabals," and should rely solely upon the advice of his Privy Council. Court favorites since the days of Piers Gaveston had only misled kings. Cabinet councils were an innovation and no part of the English constitution. Queen Elizabeth had listened to neither and had enjoyed a prosperous and glorious reign. If Charles II would follow her example and heed the advice of his Privy Council, his government too would prosper, both at home and abroad.[1]

Despite such protestations it is doubtful that the true intent of these politicians was to restore to the Privy Council the influence it once enjoyed, that they honestly wished to return to the practices of the age of Elizabeth. For beneath their appeals to tradition and their nostalgia for a golden age of good government there lay the more fundamental demand that the king adhere to the advice of counselors answerable to Parliament. That these counselors should sit in the Privy Council rather than the cabinet council was in itself of no great moment; nor was the quality of their advice the essential issue. The real gravamen contained in these protestations was that counselors had given their advice privately; and the fundamental demand was that they give it publicly, in order that Parliament might know who were the authors of bad advice.

That a desire for publicity of advice lay at the heart of what was ostensibly a demand for the revival of the Privy Council emerges clearly from an examination of that agitation in Parliament which gave rise to the recon-

[1] Roger North wrote that these ideas were "the popular cant" of the time (*Examen* [London, 1740], 78).

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structed Privy Council of 1679 and to the Privy Council clause in the Act of Settlement of 1701. Historians have by no means neglected these two celebrated schemes, but the nature of the clamor that gave rise to them has escaped close scrutiny. Yet here lies the true significance of these plans; here can be discerned the true intent of those who spoke sharply against "cabinet councils."

Lord Macaulay called the first of these schemes, the reconstructed Privy Council of 1679, "one of the great riddles of English history."[2] In this he spoke truly, for historians have disputed about its significance ever since Charles announced its creation on April 21, 1679. But Macaulay's own attempt to solve the riddle has fared badly at the hands of recent historians.[3] Chief among these is the late Professor Edward Raymond Turner, whose work directs attention away from the political speculations of Sir William Temple, author of the scheme, to the motives that led Charles II to listen to Temple. These motives Turner found to be in no way constitutional, but solely political. Charles agreed to govern his kingdoms by the constant advice of his Privy Council and to "lay aside the use . . . of any single Ministry or private advices or foreign committees" not because he believed in the superior wisdom of Privy Council members, but because he wished to appease the opposition in Parliament, an opposition that was angry at his listening to the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Earl of Danby. Nor did Charles have the slightest intention of keeping his promises. Designed only to win time, they were not fraught with any constitutional significance.[4]

Professor Turner, however, stops his inquiry at this point. He does not ask why the opposition in Parliament wanted an end to single ministries, private advices, and foreign committees, nor does he seek to discover those sentiments in Parliament that persuaded Charles to make his promises in the first place. Yet it is in these sentiments that the constitutional significance of the 1679 scheme lies hidden. Charles's motives may have been purely political, but Parliament's were not. The leaders of the Country party in the House of Commons sought, in a confused, groping manner, a rearrangement

[2] Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1946), I, 238.

[3] See Albert Venn Dicey, *The Privy Council* (London, 1887); H. V. Temperley, "Inner and Outer Cabinet and the Privy Council," *English Historical Review*, XXVII (Oct., 1912), 682–99 (hereafter cited as *EHR*); Edward Raymond Turner, "The Privy Council of 1679," *ibid.*, XXX (Apr., 1915), 251–70; and Godfrey Davies, "Council and Cabinet, 1679–1688," *ibid.*, XXXVII (Jan., 1922), 47–66. Dicey, like Macaulay, takes seriously those political speculations that led Temple to propose the scheme, but he interprets them differently. Temperley pays no attention to Temple's speculations, but believes Charles sincere in making the experiment. Turner believes that Charles was insincere, and Godfrey Davies agrees with him.

[4] E. R. Turner, "Privy Council of 1679," *EHR*, XXX (Apr., 1915), 251–70; basically the same argument is repeated in Professor Turner's *The Privy Council of England, 1603–1784* (Baltimore, Md., 1927–28), I, 409–50.

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of the governmental machinery that would make impossible the giving of private advice. And they sought an end to private advice because they wished to punish those who gave the king evil counsel.

The leaders of the Country party made this plain in the years 1677 and 1678 when they attacked cabinet councils and foreign committees as alien to English law. They warned of "the thick mist of foreign counsels," of counsels given by "inconsiderable persons," of "French counsels," of the difficulty of reposing confidence in a king who put his counsels in "strange women." They lamented that the king preferred a cabinet council to his Privy Council and that he would sooner take matters to the private cabal at Whitehall than to his council board. A cabinet was "not established by law," nor did any English law recognize committees of foreign affairs. "A cabinet council, that takes things out of the hands of the Privy Council, is the complaint," cried one exasperated member of the House.[5]

In voicing these demands that the king take counsel with his Privy Council, the leaders of the Country party appeared to look back to the Elizabethan tradition, to be guilty of what Arnold Toynbee would call the idolization of an ephemeral institution. To a considerable extent they were guilty of this, for a belief in the wisdom of Elizabethan forms of government lingered long into the seventeenth century. To many members of the House of Commons James I and Charles I had threatened to overturn these forms when they rejected government by privy councilors in favor of government by court favorites. Sir Francis Seymour, who so often voiced the sentiments of the country gentlemen in the House, spoke out in the Commons in 1625 against this new fashion in taking advice. "Since Princes must see and hear with other eyes and ears, how unhappy he who rests upon one or two, and they such as know better how to flatter . . . than how to give him good counsel?"[6] A generation later the Earl of Clarendon, whose admiration for the Elizabethan constitution knew no bounds, elevated to a comprehensive theory of government the belief that the king must heed the advice of his Privy Council. He told Charles II that no one who was not a councilor should meddle with affairs of state.[7] But this ancient tradition, as ancient as the fourteenth century—that true wisdom lay in the

[5] These complaints were expressed in debates in the Commons occurring on February 20 and March 7, 1677, and May 7 and December 2, 1678. See Brit. Mus., Add. MSS 28,091 fos. 30–31; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 1678*, p. 159, and *Addenda*, 475; and Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons* (London, 1769), VI, 313.

[6] *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625*, Camden Society, new series (London, 1873), VI, 78.

[7] Clarendon's views upon the importance of the Privy Council are set forth with commendable clarity by E. I. Carlyle in "Clarendon and the Privy Council," *EHR*, XXVII (Apr., 1912), 251–71.

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king's council and not in upstart courtiers—was transformed in the 1670's and 1680's by the appearance of another tradition, one that emerged out of the early years of the Civil War: the tradition that those who advised the king must do so publicly in order that Parliament might hold them answerable for their advice. According to this new belief, true wisdom lay ultimately in the two houses of Parliament, not in the Privy Council.

Parliament first voiced its demand for publicity of advice in the year 1642, when confidence between Charles I and Parliament had disappeared. In June of that year Parliament asked that "no public Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your Privy Council, may be esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the major Part of Your Council, attested under their Hands."[8] During the next seven years Parliament (especially the Lords) continued to distrust secret counsels, striving to limit the efficacy of oaths of secrecy taken in the Committee of Both Kingdoms and the Council of State.[9] But at the Restoration nothing was heard of this demand (the times were hardly propitious); and it only reappeared because Charles II persistently relied upon private advice. During the 1660's and 1670's the opposition in the House of Commons became increasingly eager, even desperate, to discover who had advised the Declaration of Indulgence and the breaking of the Triple Alliance, measures that promoted the growth of Catholicism at home and French power abroad. They suspected crypto-Catholics and court favorites such as the Earl of Arlington, but had no way to prove their suspicions correct. They had no answer to Daniel Finch's taunt that to lay faults on Lord Arlington because their origin was unknown was "but witchcraft."[10]

In the next four years the desperation of the leaders of the Country party in the House of Commons grew in proportion to their inability to discover who had misled Charles. That Charles was misled, they had no doubts. Their policy and royal policy diverged on every major issue of the day. They wished to promote the Protestant interest by severely enforcing the penal laws against Catholics and by banishing Catholics and crypto-Catholics from court; Charles persisted in his policy of showing indulgence toward Catholics whenever possible. They wished to engage England in a war against Louis XIV; Charles strove with all his energy to keep England out

[8] The Nineteen Propositions, *Commons' Journal*, II, 599 (hereafter cited as *CJ*).
[9] Wallace Notestein, "The Establishment of the Committee of Both Kingdoms," *American Historical Review*, XVII (Apr., 1912), 495; *Lords' Journal*, VI, 440 (hereafter cited as *LJ*); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660* (London, 1860), 9.
[10] Grey, *Debates*, II, 310.

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of the war on the Continent. They feared government by a standing army; Charles sought every possible pretext for maintaining such an army. These differences led to mutual distrust, and this distrust made unworkable the balance of government established at the Restoration. Only by stepping forward as the champion of Protestantism at home and the balance of power abroad could Charles have stilled the clamors raised in Parliament against those who advised him in the secrecy of the closet. But his heart was too French and too Catholic for that.

In the year 1678 distrust of Charles's policies reached fever pitch and led to renewed efforts to discover who possessed his ear. The House of Commons particularly wished to know who had advised him to scold them for interfering in the conduct of foreign affairs and who had advised him to maintain a standing army. In both instances they suspected the Earl of Danby, who was then Lord Treasurer, but they could not prove it. As a consequence they were forced to couch their addresses asking for his removal in the vaguest possible language. On May 10, 1678, they asked Charles "to remove those counsellors who advised the answers to the Addresses of the 26th of May [1677], or 31st of January last [1678], or either of them."[11] Nine months later (nine months of anxiety, with seven thousand soldiers on Hounslow Heath), the House voted an address warning Charles of the dangers to which the nation was exposed "by his Majesty rather following private councils than those of his two Houses of Parliament."[12]

The wording of this latter address deserves particular attention. The Commons did not represent to Charles the dangers of following private advices rather than those of the Privy Council, but the danger of following private advices rather than those of Parliament. The truth was that the Commons had little desire to restore to the Privy Council the authority it once possessed. It sought rather to usurp that authority. "What is the use of his Great Council of Parliament," asked Sir Thomas Lee in 1673, "but to inform the king he has been misled and mistaken by his Privy Council?"[13] And in June, 1678, Sir Robert Southwell wrote that the leaders of the Country party in the Commons "were certain of their rights of advising, and as a birthright if sent thither by the people"; and that they were "certain that their advice was better than the Privy Council's."[14]

[11] *CJ*, IX, 479. The address complained that these answers were advised "by some particular persons, in a clandestine way, without the participation and advice, as we conceive, of your Council Board."

[12] *Ibid.*, 551.

[13] Grey, *Debates*, II, 24.

[14] *Historical Manuscript Commission Report, Ormond*, n.s. (8 vols., 1902–20), IV, 432.

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These then were the prevailing sentiments that Charles sought to appease by reconstructing the Privy Council in April, 1679. But the scheme met with little success, relieved few men's anxieties, and persuaded only a handful of men that Charles meant to give up listening to private advice. The skepticism of the political world was entirely warranted. Within one day Charles revived the hated cabinet council under the name of the Committee of Intelligence, and within a month he had placed his confidence in an inner cabal of three men, a "triumvirate" composed of Lords Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex. In May Charles showed his contempt for the new Privy Council by proroguing Parliament without consulting it.[15] In July he dissolved Parliament, again without asking the advice of the new Privy Council. Is there any wonder then that Roger told Humphrey, "No, you fool, they are called the Private Council, because everything of moment is kept private from them."[16]

Charles's singular faithlessness had two immediate consequences. It stimulated a demand for greater publicity of advice and at the same time dampened enthusiasm for government by king and council. It made men more impatient than ever with secret counsels, and yet more disenchanted than ever with Clarendonian principles of government. It was in fact the president of the new Privy Council himself who delivered the *coup de grâce* to Clarendon's ideal of government by king and council. In June, 1679, the Earl of Shaftesbury, leader of the Country party and Lord President of the Council, demanded that Charles summon Parliament once again, that they might approve whatever the Privy Council should direct, for he would "never undertake to act as a representative of the people in that Council."[17] Others took up the same cry. Henry Booth, one of the boldest and most uncompromising advocates of English liberty, told the Commons when it next met, "You may remember in the last Parliament the change that was made in the Privy Council . . . and I pray you, how much wool have we had after all this cry? What benefit have we reaped by that change?" He insisted, "The only answer is for the King to reject the advice of counsellors and favorites and draw closer to parliament."[18] Sir Henry Neville, one-time

[15] Barillon, the French ambassador, wrote Louis XIV (May 28–June 8, 1679) that Shaftesbury and those put in the Council had no part at all in the prorogation. "Cela fait dire dans Londres qu'on s'est moqué de la nation dans l'establissement de ce nouveau conseil et que tout ce qui s'est fait avoir pour but de les tromper." Baschet Transcripts, Public Record Office.

[16] *Plain Dealing, or a Dialogue Between Humphrey and Roger, About Chusing the Next Parliament* (London, 1681), 7.

[17] *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Ormond*, n.s., V, 136.

[18] Henry Booth was later created Lord Delamere and then first Earl of Warrington. This speech is printed in his *Works* (London, 1694), 120–23.

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member of Harrington's Rota Club, set forth the logical conclusions to be drawn from these sentiments with a clarity that Parliament dared not emulate. In *Plato Redivivus* he urged that the king rely upon councilors whom Parliament shall name and that "there shall be a register kept of all the votes of these several councils [of which there were to be four], with the names as well of those who consented, as of such who dissented."[19] Far more typical of opinion in Parliament (which eschewed anything redolent of 1642) was the remark of a quasi-official Country party pamphlet that the king "can make no ill orders because they must be by the advice of his Council, and they must be answerable for them."[20]

These demands for the fullest publicity of advice—even for the written responsibility of counselors—reflected the wish of the first and second Exclusion Parliaments (which met in 1679 and 1680) to hold Charles's ministers responsible for any pernicious advice that they might give him. At times this concern placed Parliament in an uncomfortable dilemma. One such dilemma occurred in 1680 when the House voted that, according to "common fame," the Earl of Halifax had "clandestinely and secretly" advised Charles against the exclusion bill. Lord Cavendish, rarely a friend to the court, hastened to point out the contradiction embodied in this vote. It was, he said, "mere nonsense that common fame should publish what counsels were clandestinely and secretly given," that public rumor should report what was whispered in the privacy of the closet. Parliament thereupon retreated from its exposed position, not by rejecting the address for Halifax's removal, but rather by striking out "secretly and clandestinely" from it.[21] Whatever were the difficulties of discovering the authors of bad advice, the Commons was determined to make them answer for it. Charles, on the contrary, was equally resolute to protect his counselors by seeking their advice in the privacy of the antechamber. This irreconcilable conflict was ended only with the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March, 1681, a dissolution resolved upon in a secret cabinet council held at Merton College. Charles was now free to consult whomever he wished, whenever and wherever he wished. During the reign of James II the issue did not arise, for James, once he had prorogued Parliament in November, 1685, never called it into session again.

The Revolution of 1688, far from solving the problems raised by the Privy Council scheme of 1679, only further aggravated them. By insuring

[19] Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus* (4th ed., London, 1763), 259.
[20] *A Letter From A Person Of Quality* (London, 1681), 1. This pamphlet was chosen by the leaders of the Country party as an answer to Charles's declaration of May, 1681.
[21] *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Ormond*, n.s. V, 503.

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frequent meetings of Parliament the revolutionary settlement made more constant the demand for publicity of advice; and by placing a foreigner on the throne and introducing foreigners into the court it heightened suspicion of all private advice. As before, this demand was cloaked by a request for the revival of the Privy Council in all its original purity; but, as before, the true motive behind the demand was a desire to make ministers answerable to Parliament. Such a desire inspired the extreme Whigs in 1690 to propose once again the written responsibility of ministers. They suspected but could not prove that the Earl of Danby, now Marquess of Carmarthen, had advised the dissolution of the late Parliament. To prevent him and others from giving such secret counsels in the future they proposed that privy councilors put their hand to their counsels. It was Paul Foley, a friend of Robert Harley and a declared enemy of the court, who introduced the measure in the Commons. In language reminiscent of that used in 1642, he proposed that "all orders passed by the Privy Council may be fairly entered, and that those present may enter their assent or dissent."[22] Two years later the dissident spirits among the members of the Commons again attacked secret cabals as dangerous to the kingdom. Foley once more demanded that every counselor put his hand to his counsels, and Goodwin Wharton complained that if cabinet councils were allowed, "you will never know who gives advice."[23] But neither in 1690 nor in 1692 was the majority of the House sufficiently alarmed by defeats at sea or sufficiently moved by party spite to reenact the drama of 1642.

In the remaining years of William's reign the opposition in the House of Commons sought, but sought in vain, to pierce the heavy cloud of secret counsels. "You may hunt" the authors of evil counsels "to the cabinet," said Sir John Thompson in 1694, "but there we must leave it, for we cannot find the hands that do the mischief. . . . All debates should be in the Council, now all things are . . . huddled up."[24] Four years later Sir John Trenchard gave vent to the frustration caused by all things being "huddled up." He wrote in his immensely popular pamphlet, *A Short History of Standing Armies in England:*

> Though we were in a capacity to punish offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. . . . Formerly all matters of state and discretion were debated

[22] William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England* (36 vols., London, 1806–20), V, 643. The debate occurred in a Committee of the Whole House and therefore there is no record of the proposal in the *Journal* of the House of Commons. But there is a formal and elaborate statement of the proposal in Harleian MSS 1243 f. 197.

[23] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, V, 733.

[24] *Ibid.*, 829.

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and resolved in the Privy Council, where every man subscribed his opinion, and was answerable for it. The late King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent part of our Constitution, by setting a Cabal or Cabinet-Council, where all matters of consequence were debated and resolved, and then brought to the Privy Council to be confirmed.[25]

But the protests of Sir John Trenchard against private counsels were as nothing compared to the explosion that came in 1701, when the House discovered that the Partition Treaties had been negotiated without the knowledge of the Privy Council, indeed without the knowledge of the cabinet council. The immediate consequence of this discovery was the passage of the fourth clause (of the third section) of the Act of Settlement, which required that "all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same."[26] In this way Parliament finally inscribed on the statute book the written responsibility of ministers demanded by the Commons in 1642, defended by Neville in 1681, and proposed by Foley in 1690 and 1692. It was, however, to come into force only upon the accession of the House of Hanover.

The Privy Council clause of the Act of Settlement has had fewer historians than the 1679 scheme. Yet it is no less deserving of study, since it throws light upon those persistent demands that were common to both schemes.

The most remarkable fact about the Privy Council clause is that the House accepted it, as they did other limitations on the crown, with almost no dissenting voices. In the fullest Committee of the Whole House that had ever been seen, these limitations were passed unanimously.[27] Yet this same House was deeply riven by party quarrels, and within a week fell into the bitterest feuds. How was it that amidst such rancor and division the House achieved unanimity? The answer is that despite their deep divisions upon other great issues all groups had their own private reasons for supporting limitations on a Hanoverian successor. These groups or parties were (adopting the political compass lately given us by Professor Walcott) the Court Whigs, the Country Whigs, the Court Tories, and the Country Tories.[28]

[25] John Trenchard, *A Short History of Standing Armies in England* (in *A Collection of State Tracts, Published on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688 and during the Reign of King William III* [London, 1705–1707], II, 655).

[26] *Statutes at Large* (London and Cambridge, 1762–1865), X, 359.

[27] John Verney to Lord Hatton, Mar. 1, 1700 [1701], B.M. Add. MSS 29,568 f. 9.

[28] Robert Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 92–93.

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These parties were also known as the Official Whigs, the Old Whigs, the Moderate Tories, and the High Tories. Concealed within the last party was a fifth group, the Jacobites. The motives that guided the actions of these parties were various and contradictory.

For those Old Whigs who had not followed the Junto into William's service, support of limitations was a matter of principle. From the beginning of the new reign they had advocated (to William's disgust) Commonwealth principles, had fought to limit the prerogative, and had resented William's reliance upon court favorites. The necessity of defining the succession now gave them an opportunity to perfect what they had begun in 1689. William needed their support in order to insure the Protestant succession, without which his life-long endeavor to lessen the power of Catholic France might be jeopardized. In return for giving their support to that cause the Old Whigs demanded a new definition of the rights of Englishmen, rights that they believed the Bill of Rights had insufficiently guaranteed. And the first among these new rights was the written responsibility of counselors. One Whig publicist had no doubts what this meant. It "amounts to as much," he argued, "as if there were a standing Committee of Parliament to manage all the great affairs of the Kingdom, since what is signed by the Privy Council is cognizable in Parliament."[29]

Yet it was not one of the Old Whigs who first proposed the written responsibility of councilors, but one who was accounted neither Whig nor Tory. Robert Harley, whom the House had just elected speaker, introduced the measure into the Committee of the Whole House. His initiative was particularly important because of his close connection with the court. Those who enjoyed, sought, or hoped for court preferment listened attentively to a man whom all believed to speak for William himself. The Moderate Tories in particular had no reason, either historical or ideological, to desire limits on the prerogative. Only because the court countenanced the measure did many of them, their eyes fixed on preferment, vote for it.[30]

There is evidence that the Moderate Tories, and all others who sought favor at court, were not wholly mistaken in believing that Robert Harley spoke for William. Edward Harley relates in his memoirs that his brother was closeted alone with William in October, 1700. During their conversation Robert Harley mentioned that the Tories and Commonwealth men would

[29] *Claims of the People of England Essayed in a Letter from the Country* (in *State Tracts, William III*, III, 21).

[30] The Prussian envoy Louis Bonnet was convinced that the place-seekers followed Harley because they believed he spoke for the court. See his dispatch of Mar. 7–18, 1701, B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, f. 68.

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not oppose the Act of Settlement directly, but indirectly, by putting limitations upon the crown. At this William started up and said that he would never bear it. Harley replied that it would only be possible to avoid present limitations on the crown if his Majesty would agree to future limitations upon it. William assented to this expedient, but remained deeply skeptical about its success. Upon the triumph of Harley's tactics, William went out of his way to thank Harley for his advice.[31]

There is nothing incredible in this story; yet neither is there anything in it that excludes the possibility that Harley favored the written responsibility of councilors out of sincere conviction. As a friend of Foley, as a politician who had long been in opposition, and as an opponent of those who negotiated the Partition Treaties, he had many reasons for sincerely welcoming such a limitation upon the prerogative. In the summer of 1701 he employed John Toland, a mercenary scribbler from Grub Street, to defend, in a pamphlet entitled *Anglia Libera,* those limitations upon the crown that he had persuaded William to accept as an expedient.[32]

Few among the High Tories shared Harley's and Foley's enthusiasm for the written responsibility of ministers, but they all shared the hatred of these two for the ministers who had negotiated the Partition Treaties. For three years, driven by party animosity, the High Torries had sought to drag down and discredit Lords Orford, Halifax, Somers, and Portland. Now that they had evidence before them that these lords had privately advised William concerning the two Partition Treaties, they were determined to drive home their attack. They persuaded the Commons to impeach the four lords for advising and negotiating the Partition Treaties without consulting either Parliament or the Privy Council.[33] There is little wonder then that in the heat of this controversy they wished the principle of publicity of advice to be part of the Act of Settlement, and that they voiced arguments in favor of it that were more befitting the followers of Neville and Sidney than those of Sir Robert Filmer and Sir Roger L'Estrange.

The motives of the Jacobites in supporting the written responsibility of ministers were devious and labyrinthine. They had, understandably, no reason to wish for the establishment of the succession in the House of Hanover;

[31] Edward Harley's memoirs, B.M. Add. MSS 34,515 fos. 6–8. Bishop Thomas Burnet (*History of His Own Times,* ed. Gilbert Burnet [6 vols., Oxford, 1823], IV, 498) confirms Edward Harley's memoirs. "Harley, it was said by his friends, had taken charge of these clauses to stifle far more extreme proposals."

[32] John Toland, *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701); *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Portland MSS,* VIII, 279, 408.

[33] Bonnet acutely observed that "les Seigneurs se sont plaints de ce que le susdit Traite ne s'est pas passé dans le Conseil Privé, et les Communes de ce qu'on ne les a pas consulté là-dessus." B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, f. 106.

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yet they dared not oppose it openly, for open opposition to the succession would look more like an intention to wage civil war than to block an unwanted statute. In order to escape from this dilemma they fell upon tactics that would have won the admiration of the subtlest Machiavellian. They resolved to load the bill for the establishment of the Protestant succession with so many limitations on the prerogative that the House of Lords would reject or amend it. If the Lords rejected it, their work was done. If the Lords amended it, they would raise such a quarrel between the two Houses that the bill would certainly fail. And there remained always the hope that William would veto the bill if it passed both Houses heavily encumbered with limitations upon the prerogative. It was for these reasons that the Jacobites supported Sir Robert Harley's motion on March 5 for limitations on the prerogative. Indeed, the Prussian envoy Louis Friedrich Bonnet even suggested that the Jacobites put Harley on to that day's work. The Tory chiefs, he wrote home, hoped to defeat the Protestant succession by espousing the rights of the people, but as they thought that no Whig would trust a proposition made by a Tory, nor a Tory one made by a Whig, they persuaded Mr. Harley to break the ice and demand limitations. Bonnet's statement, however, must be taken with a grain of salt, for he saw a concealed Jacobite in every Tory. The Jacobites no doubt sought to defeat the succession in this manner, but that they enlisted Harley in their schemes is hard to believe.[34]

Those most opposed to the written responsibility of Privy Council members were the Court Whigs, who knew it to be unworkable and who knew that much of the clamor for it arose from hostility to their past conduct of affairs. And these Court Whigs were not only opposed to the clause, but were in a position to defeat it because of their superior numbers in the House of Lords. Yet they resolutely refused to do this, and refused for the same reason that their friends in the Commons had voted for the clause in the first place. They would not imperil the Protestant succession by amending the very bill designed to secure it. The trap into which the Jacobites hoped the Court Whigs would walk was no more hidden from them than from the

[34] Bonnet's dispatch, Mar. 7–18, 1701, B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, fos. 68–73. Both the Dutch envoy and the French ambassador agreed with Bonnet that the Jacobites hoped to defeat the bill by overloading it with limitations on the prerogative (B.M. Add. MSS 17,677 WW, Mar. 7–18; and Armand Baschet transcripts in the P.R.O., Mar. 6–17, 1701. The imperial envoy Johann Philipp Hoffmann suggested a more ingenious explanation for the support given limitations by the Jacobites. The Jacobites, he wrote, "wollten für England nicht ein Königthum nach der Art Ludwigs XIV., sondern ein gesetzlich beschränktes. Sie glaubten dasz die Successions-Acte, welche sie mitberiethen und mitfestellen, auch dafür verwendbar sei, dasz es im gegebenen Falls lediglich auf die Anderung des Namens ankommen werde." Onno Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart* (Vienna, 1885), IX, 267. Bishop Burnet wrote that "many . . . began to conclude . . . that these limitations were designed to raise disputes between the two Houses, by which the bill might be lost." *History*, IV, 487.

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foreign envoys who reported it to their masters; and the Court Whigs had no intention of provoking a quarrel between the two Houses which would inevitably lead to the loss of the bill. Their strategy was to pass the bill as it stood, unchanged, unaltered, unamended. Later they could repeal the more obnoxious limitations contained in the bill.[35]

Time vindicated the strategy of the Court Whigs. Five years later Parliament silently, swiftly, and without a dissenting voice repealed the fourth clause, the Privy Council clause, of the Act of Settlement.[36] The reasons for this astonishing *volte-face* are not easy to discern. Since March, 1701, there had been new elections—in December, 1701, in 1702, and in 1705—but these elections had not profoundly altered the composition of the House of Commons.[37] It was still composed of Court Whigs, Country Whigs, Moderate Tories, High Tories, and a few Jacobites. What had changed, however, were the immediate political circumstances that dictated the actions of each party. In 1710 these circumstances had forced the Court Whigs, the Jacobites, and the High Tories to support the written responsibility of councilors against their deeper convictions. The Court Whigs had supported it from a determination not to imperil the Protestant succession; the Jacobites from a cynical design to defeat that succession; and the High Tories from a desire to render odious those Whig lords who had negotiated the Partition Treaties. By 1706 the Jacobites despaired and the Court Whigs rejoiced that the Protestant succession was as secure as statute law could make it; and the High Tories had forgotten the Partition Treaties and the ministers who negotiated them. Members of all three parties were now free to vote for the removal of a clause in whose wisdom they had never honestly believed.

The silence of the Country Whigs and the Moderate Tories in 1706 is more difficult to understand. As far as the Country Whigs were concerned, two possible explanations present themselves. In the first place, they were much too busily engaged in an attempt to prevent the repeal of the sixth

[35] *Ibid.*, 488.

[36] The clause was repealed by an amendment to the Act of Security (*Statutes of the Realm*, XI, 138). The amendment was added to the act by the Lords on January 31, 1706, and was accepted by the Commons on February 5 (*LJ*, XVIII, 83–84; *CJ*, XV, 127). The passage of this amendment caused such a small ripple in English politics that almost no evidence has survived about the intrigues and debates that accompanied its introduction and acceptance. The only contemporary who refers to the incident is Bishop Burnet. He states that the fourth clause of the Act of Settlement "was impracticable, since it was visible that no man would be a privy-counsellor on those terms." He then adds, "the lords added the repeal of this clause to the amendments sent up by the commons, and the commons readily agreed to it." *History*, V, 234–35.

[37] The House of Commons elected in December, 1701, did not differ markedly from its predecessor (Keith Feiling, *History of the Tory Party* [Oxford, 1924], 356). In the 1702 elections the Court and Country Whigs lost about forty seats, which were won by various Tory groups and connections; but in 1705 the Court and the Country Whigs recovered these losses (Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century*, 107–109, 115–16).

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clause of the Act of Settlement, which prohibited placemen from sitting in Parliament, to have any time to oppose the repeal of the fourth clause.[38] In 1706 the threat that the court would corrupt Parliament seemed to them greater than the threat that evil advisers would corrupt the court. Then, in the second place, the leading Whig advocate of the written responsibility of councilors, Lord Wharton, had become by 1706 a Court Whig. In 1692, as one of the spokesmen of the Country Whigs, he had demanded that "the King call his Council, and that they do set their hands to their advice, or their dissent." But fourteen years later, with the hope of imminent preferment before him, he voiced no opposition to the repeal of the fourth clause.[39]

The leader of the Moderate Tories, Robert Harley, experienced a similar change of heart. In 1701 he had introduced the fourth clause into the Committee of the Whole House. In 1705 he made no effort at all to prevent its repeal.[40] The reasons for this astonishing reversal are not impossible to surmise. In 1701 Harley looked back upon four years of bitter opposition to the government, and saw in the written responsibility of privy councilors a means to make the king's ministers more responsive to Parliament. In 1706 he was secretary of state and one of the closest advisers of the Queen. Having attained high office he was in a position to recognize more readily the necessity of secrecy in government and the dangers of publishing abroad the intentions of the government. Harley was not unique in undergoing this conversion. Politicians in later Stuart England were always readier to defend the prerogative when in office than when out.

It is, then, to changing political circumstances that one must look to ex-

[38] The determined efforts of the Country members in the House, both Tories and Whigs, to prevent the repeal of the sixth clause can be followed in Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford, 1857), VI, 8–17.

[39] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, V, 724; *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Portland MSS*, IV, 250; *LJ*, XVIII, 83–84.

[40] William McCulloch Torrens (*History of Cabinets* [London, 1894], I, 43–44) asserts that Robert Harley managed the repeal of the fourth clause in the House of Commons. Though he gives no evidence to substantiate this assertion, there does exist other evidence, drawn from primary sources, suggesting that Harley favored, and may well have managed, the repeal of the clause in the Commons. This evidence is of two kinds. One kind shows Harley to have been intimately concerned in the day-to-day management of the Commons during the 1705–1706 sessions of Parliament. See especially *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Portland MSS*, IV, 288, 290, 291 and *Bath MSS*, I, 79. The other kind shows Harley to have taken the court position in the debates and votes on the amending of the Act of Security. Professor Walcott has uncovered a division list for the vote on the amendment to the Act of Security which would allow placemen to sit in the House of Commons. Robert Harley's name appears among those who favored admitting placemen into the House. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XIV, no. 40 (1936–37), 32. It is difficult to believe that a man who broke with the Country group in order to vote for the repeal of the sixth clause of the Act of Settlement would hesitate to support the repeal of the fourth clause.

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plain the abrupt *volte-face* of Parliament in 1706.[41] However, these changing circumstances afford no answer to a question that is far more fundamental to the story of Privy Council schemes. Why did these various parties, whether in office or out, cease after 1706 to demand the written responsibility of privy councilors? Why were such demands not heard in St. Stephen's Chapel throughout the eighteenth century?

To this question there is one essential answer: Parliament discovered other means than the written responsibility of councilors to focus responsibility on the king's advisers. What made this discovery possible was a willingness to ignore legal responsibility, which could only be enforced by impeachment, and to concentrate on political responsibility, which could be enforced by a refusal to support the government. In order to impeach a minister for giving the king wicked counsel, Parliament needed clear and evident proof, for an impeachment might deprive him of life and property. But merely to demand the dismissal of a minister required no better proof than suspicion that he had given the king ill advice, for removal from office was not looked upon as a punishment. "For though the House of Commons," wrote a Whig author in 1692, "seconded by the House of Lords, cannot reach the life or estate of any person, but by a full proof in form of law; yet because it is so difficult a matter to come at such a proof, a vote of the House of Commons against any minister hath always been esteemed by all kings (who were well with the people) a sufficient reason for the removing them from Court."[42] And should the king fail "to esteem" such a vote a sufficient reason for removing a minister from court, the opposition in the Commons was ready in the years after 1688 to obstruct the passage of an adequate bill of supply.[43]

Since legal proof was now unnecessary and suspicion was all-sufficient, the Commons had only to cast their suspicion where they would. Logic dictated, if experience did not invariably confirm, that they ought to cast their suspicion upon those who served the king in high office or sat in his cabinet

[41] These changing circumstances surely offer a more convincing explanation of the repeal of the fourth clause than Mr. Naamani Tarkow's suggestion that it resulted from the sagacity of English parliamentarians who foresaw the growth of cabinet government. Mr. Tarkow writes: "It was the attempt of the fourth article of the Act of Settlement to stop the natural development of one of the greatest political institutions of all time . . . that soon made the sagacious English parliamentarians aware of their grave mistake and led them to rectify it early in the reign of Queen Anne by repealing the measure." "The Significance of the Act of Settlement in the Evolution of English Democracy," *Political Science Quarterly, LVIII* (Dec., 1943), 550–51.

[42] *A Dialogue Betwixt Whig and Tory* (in *State Tracts, William III*, II, 375).

[43] The right of the Commons to refuse supplies if evil ministers were not removed was openly proclaimed by Thomas Wharton, the leader of the Country Whigs in 1689. Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1790), II, 198. Burnet, nine years later, wrote, "our princes used not to dismiss ministers who served them well, unless they were pressed to it by a house of commons, that refused to give money till they were laid aside." *History*, IV, 434.

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council, for they had constant access to him. It might be true, of course, that the king's servants were innocent of giving that ill advice upon which the king acted. In this case, argued the leaders of the Country party, they should resign. It was upon this new doctrine that Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Sir William Powle acted in 1680. They ostentatiously resigned from the new Privy Council because Charles was acting upon the advice of irresponsibile courtiers rather than his chosen counselors.[44] Of all the events surrounding the Privy Council scheme of 1679 these resignations are the most fraught with significance (and the most neglected by historians of the scheme). They were the Country party's riposte to a king's broken word. If Charles refused the responsible advice of his Council and acted on advice whispered in the bedchamber, then they would resign. William Jones, the ablest legal mind among the Country party leaders, rushed to the defense of those "who being qualified for the highest employments of State, have either left or refused or been removed from them, because they would not accept or retain them at the price of selling their country, and enslaving posterity. . . ."[45] Sir Henry Neville's justification of the resignations showed a profounder understanding of their meaning. These men resigned, he argued, "because they found . . . that till the administration be altered, it is impossible that their councils can be embraced."[46] He saw that those who served in the administration—the lord treasurers and secretaries of state—were the true advisers in Charles's court, and not the Privy Council members.

During William's reign the administration and the cabinet council gradually merged into one body. The more important ministers of state came to sit in the cabinet council, and the majority of councilors possessed high office. By 1700 the Earl of Sunderland could advise William that "None were to be of the Cabinet Council, but who have, in some sort, a right to enter by their employment."[47] These cabinet councilors did not regard themselves as collectively responsible to Parliament, but rather as individually answerable to the king. But their opponents in Parliament found it convenient to hold them collectively responsible, as a ministry, for the success of the king's government. This was especially true during the last years of William's reign and the whole of Queen Anne's, when the term "ministry" gained wide currency. In 1698 Lord Somers complained to the Earl of Shrewsbury that the

[44] *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Ormond MSS*, n.s., V, 271.
[45] William Jones, *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings in the Two Last Parliaments* (London, 1681), 46.
[46] Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, 246.
[47] *Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726*, ed. Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke (London, 1778), II, 460.

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king "is without anything, which has the appearance of a ministry," and two years later Robert Harley told James Vernon that "It was now a general complaint we had no ministry. . . ."[48] In that same year Nathan Wright refused to enter the cabinet council for fear of incurring responsibility for its decision.[49] And he had good reason to do so, for a year later a Whig author observed, "the king . . . is not punishable or blameable by our Constitution, but the Ministry is. . . ."[50] By the year 1711 the idea of the collective responsibility of the cabinet council had gained such ground that the Earl of Ferrers could argue in the House of Lords that Secretary Sunderland's letter to James Stanhope, urging an aggressive war in Spain, was proof that the fault for advising that war lay with "the ministry . . . for a secretary of state gives no direction but from the cabinet council."[51] The Lords accepted this reading of the Constitution by voting that "the Ministers . . . are justly to be blamed for contributing to our Misfortunes in Spain. . . ."[52]

It would be erroneous to argue from these votes and resolutions that by 1711 the collective responsibility of the cabinet council had been achieved. It clearly had not, for Parliament continued in the next half century to hold ministers individually responsible for the advice they gave the king. In 1715 the House of Commons appointed a Committee of Secrecy to search into the wrongdoings of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. In 1742 they appointed a similar committee to search into the crimes of Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford. Even as late as 1806 Charles James Fox resisted the idea of collective cabinet responsibility because it hindered the punishment of individual ministers.[53] Yet the idea did exist in embryo in 1711. In debate after debate, members of Parliament criticized "the new ministry," "the late ministry," and "the present ministry." When impeached in 1715, the Earl of Oxford appealed to the collective responsibility of "those in high trust about her

[48] *Ibid.*, 435; G.P.R. James, ed., *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III* (London, 1841), III, 90.

[49] L'Hermitage, the Dutch envoy, wrote home that Nathan Wright would accept the office of Keeper of the Seal only on the condition that he would not be a member of the cabinet council, "à fin qu' on ne luy pust rien imputer de l'administration des affaires, qui est la principale pierre d'achoppement à l'egard de la chambre des communes, et il aura seulement seance au conseil d'état [Privy Council], mais comme il n'y a là que des affaires ordinaire, les membres de ce conseil n'ont pas beaucoup à craindre d'estre recherches." May 21–June 1, 1700, B.M. Add. MSS 17,677 VV.

[50] Anon., *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted* (London, 1702), 19.

[51] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, VI, 979.

[52] *LJ*, XIX, 192. It is illuminating to compare this censure with a typical vote of censure under William III. In 1694 the Commons voted that "whoever advised the king not to give the Royal Assent [to the second Place Bill] was an enemy to their Majesties and the Kingdom" (*CJ*, XI, 70). The censure voted in 1711 implies the existence of a recognized cabinet; the other does not.

[53] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, 1st ser. (41 vols., London, 1803–20), VI, 310–11.

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majesty."[54] And Sir Robert Walpole resigned from office in 1717 because he did not wish to incur responsibility for measures adopted by the cabinet.[55] Once again a minister in 1723, Walpole told the Commons that the "ministry . . . knew themselves to be accountable . . . for their actions."[56] These innumerable attacks upon "the ministry" and frequent appeals to cabinet responsibility slowly and imperceptibly crystalized into something approaching a convention of the constitution. In 1749 one of the Pelham brothers sought to avoid responsibility for public measures by pleading that he was not a member of the cabinet, and in 1778 Lord North demanded a share of responsibility because he was a member.[57] These, however, were years far distant from 1711. Of collective responsibility in that year perhaps only one assertion can be made with safety: English politicians were not unacquainted with the idea of a ministry who advised Anne and whom they could criticize for advising her badly. Indeed, they were so familiar with the idea that they felt no great need to demand the revival of the Privy Council's authority.

The last years of William's reign and the twelve years of Queen Anne's also witnessed a continued attack upon irresponsible advisers. The opinion found ever-increasing favor that ministers should resign if their counsels were not heeded. John Toland, Harley's friend, maintained that wise and honest men should resign their places "if the king should go about to put them on any indirect measures. . . ."[58] Another pamphleteer of the same persuasion concluded "that ministers of state and Privy Councillors in England ought not only to be so honest as not to concur with those that give ill advice to their Prince, but likewise to have so much fortitude and self-denial as to quit any post whatever in the Prince's service, rather than be obliged to concur in anything that may be to the dishonour and disadvantage of the Crown or Country."[59] But none stated the new doctrine so succinctly as James Drake, a vigorous High Tory pamphleteer. If ministers "advise, they are answerable . . . if they do not advise, they ought to resign their places."[60] Lord Godolphin acted upon this admonition in 1701 when he resigned his staff as First Commissioner of the Treasury because William had refused his advice against the dissolution of Parliament; and so too did the Earl of Not-

[54] *Ibid.*, VII, 204.
[55] William Coxe, *Memoirs of . . . Sir Robert Walpole* (London, 1798), II, 170.
[56] Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, VIII, 198.
[57] E. R. Turner, *The Cabinet Council* (Baltimore, Md., 1930–32), II, 218; Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, XX, 89.
[58] John Toland, *The Art of Governing by Partys* (London, 1701), 102.
[59] Anon., *The Dangers of Europe from the Growing Powers of France* (in *State Tracts, William III*, III, 366).
[60] James Drake, *History of the Last Parliament* (London, 1702), 188.

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tingham in 1704 when he resigned from the Secretary's office because the Queen hearkened to the counsels of the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire rather than to his.[61] Irresponsible advisers continued to whisper counsels behind the backs of responsible ministers long into the eighteenth century, but the weapon which would finally rout them from the closet was being forged in the years from 1680 to 1714. That weapon was the insistence that those who had access to the king because they held high office and sat in the cabinet should be held responsible for any advice upon which the monarch acted. Not for another two generations would this weapon be perfected; but in its crude state of manufacture it worked sufficiently well to silence any further demands for the written responsibility of privy councilors.

The conclusions that arise from these considerations are manifest. The clamors that led to the Privy Council scheme of 1679 and the Privy Council clause in the Act of Settlement of 1701 arose from no mere nostalgia for the Elizabethan past, nor from an advocacy of the Clarendonian theory of the supremacy of the Privy Council in the English government. They resulted rather from an attempt to make ministers answerable to Parliament for advice which they gave to the king. Yet when the leaders of the opposition in Parliament finally discovered other means than the written responsibility of Privy Council members to ferret out the authors of evil advice, they dropped their demand for the revival of the Privy Council. They turned instead to the principle that those who held high office and sat in the cabinet council should answer for all advice upon which the king acted. If the king acted on the advice of irresponsible courtiers, and if cabinet councilors did not wish to bear the odium of that advice, they should resign. To the challenge that Parliament should designate those individuals who in fact gave the ill advice, the leaders of the opposition in Parliament answered that the ministry as a whole was at fault. Though these new principles did not become recognized conventions of the constitution for another century, they did serve to reconcile two indispensable elements of good government, secrecy in administration, and ministerial responsibility, and so to make possible the ultimate growth of cabinet government in Great Britain.

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[61] Edward Harley's Memoirs, B.M. Add. MSS 34,515 f. 13; Burnet, *History*, V, 139.

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Along the Road Back to France 1940*

JOHN C. CAIRNS

EVEN now, almost twenty years after, the fall of France in the summer of 1940—by which is meant here both the military collapse and the surrender of the parliamentary Republic at Vichy—remains for some of us a vivid memory. It was indeed, as the then British Foreign Secretary so rightly recalled, "an event which at the time seemed something so unbelievable as to be almost surely unreal, and if not unreal then quite immeasurably catastrophic."[1] And yet it is not perhaps so very surprising that this almost fantastic occurrence, which electrified the Western world and marked an immense and irrevocable progress in the downward course of European fortunes, should have tended to slip away (in the minds of most men) into the limbo of the past, mostly forgotten now. So much about that odd war of 1939–1940 seems to have belonged to another time, not to the great days of the Grand Alliance which have somehow come to be considered the real Second World War. The Battle of Britain might be taken as the beginning of all that is much remembered, especially by younger generations. It stemmed, temporarily at least, the rip-tide of German aggression. It retrieved the lost campaigns in Finland,[2] Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France. In

* This paper was read (more or less in this form) at the annual meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies held in Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, January 31–February 1, 1958. In reading for some time on the general problem of the disaster of 1940, I have incurred substantial debts to the Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of Toronto. The references here, of course, are often little more than suggestive of the kind of sources and studies that must be taken into account.

[1] The Earl of Halifax, *Fullness of Days* (London, 1957), 215.

[2] The Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940 is not always directly associated with the main current of events at that time. The question of aid to the Finns was of course inextricably confused with the issue of halting Swedish iron ore deliveries to Germany and with the search, on the French side, for a diversionary front against the enemy. No clear line was developed in either London or Paris, and serious differences existed between them, although the Supreme War Council did decide on an intervention in Finland in principle (February 5, 1940). The issue was debated in the public press with a terrifying lack of concern for the risks it would entail. And for many reasons—not least because of Popular Front memories and the antipatriotic activities of the outlawed French Communist party—it was used after the Treaty of Moscow (March 12, 1940) as a weapon with which to compel Premier Edouard Daladier to abandon office. Indeed, more than the political Right chose to make the Finnish armistice a French defeat. But the British were not agreed. "Does Darlan want war with the Russians?" Admiral Sir Dudley Pound had asked. "That's the whole question. As for me, I do not." (Jacques Mordal, *La campagne de Norvège* [Paris, 1949], 77–78). Evidently François Darlan was prepared to run this risk until April (Admiral Raymond de Belot, *La marine française pendant la campagne 1939–1940* [Paris, 1954], 36 and fn.). Daladier, convinced that this northern theater

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the Atlantic world from 1941 on, and despite further heavy losses for another year, there was little looking back on the past, the lost war. And so rapidly as still to seem amazing, the French nation was accepted as having come to the end of its political and military greatness. There was a realization that this disaster was neither 1814 nor 1870. And the French would have to wait, like the Poles, the Dutch, the Danes, and the others, for rescue. In the minds of those who, for whatever reasons, did not go down, the French had become the defeated, the *déclassés*. Surely every Anglo-American felt secretly that they just had not had victory in them; they had come to the end of the road. It was too bad, of course, contemporary observers seemed to say, but what could you expect from a country that had been so frivolous and from a national way of life, a system that had for so long borne the marks of something less than greatness?

To the man in the street, if he pondered upon it very much at all, the fall of France did not require an inordinate amount of thought. Everyone who read the papers knew that old Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain had been faint hearted from the first, prepared to give up even during the difficult days of the war of 1914. Pierre Laval (was there a single commentary that did not make something of the soiled white tie?), thought to be the Marshal's evil genius, had been marked out a quarter century before in the famous Carnet B, listing potentially dangerous pacifists and revolutionaries who might have to be arrested. Men like Georges Bonnet, so recently transferred from the Foreign Ministry to the Ministry of Justice in Edouard Daladier's last cabinet, who symbolized an even more suspect variety of appeasement than that associated with Neville Chamberlain, were thought to have exerted a disastrous influence behind the battle and in the parliamentary *coulisses*. Lesser-known persons, such as the Italophile former Minister of Public Works Anatole de Monzie, were evidently shifty and unreliable. Plainly the fall of France was the result of conspiracy, subversion, and a distasteful bargain, as that disillu-

was of "capital importance for the war's outcome," had become increasingly critical of Halifax's "too constantly temporising and negative attitude" as his own critics in the Palais Bourbon prepared his downfall (Daladier to Charles Corbin, Jan. 17, 1940, Germany, Auswärtiges Amt, 1939–41, no. 6; *Secret Documents of the French General Staff* [Berlin, 1941], no. 18). A word on the domestic uses of the Finnish campaign is in John C. Cairns, "The Fall of France, 1940: Thoughts on a National Defeat," *Proceedings of the Canadian Historical Association, 1957*, 64–65; cf. Angelo Rossi, *Les communistes français pendant la drôle de guerre: Une page d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 134–45; Vainö Tanner, *The Winter War: Finland against Russia, 1939–1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1957); C. Leonard Lundin, *Finland in the Second World War* (Bloomington, Ind., 1957), 42–79; John H. Wuorinen, ed., *Finland and World War II, 1939–1944* (New York, 1948), 33–79; J. R. M. Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II, *September 1939–June 1941* (London, 1957), 91–117. As the then deputy chief of air staff put it: the possibility that Great Britain and France might accept the risk of war with the Soviet Union "really makes one's hair stand on end." *The Central Blue: The Autobiography of Sir John Slessor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force* (New York, 1957), 270.

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sioned champion of the mortally smitten League of Nations, Lord Robert Cecil, put it, "by which a sordid adventurer induced a Marshal of France to sell the honour of his country for the satisfaction of his servile ambition."[3] This conspiracy thesis, in its all-embracing vagueness, was destined, of course, to wander disconsolately in search of proof.

It was true that the Germans had Pétain marked down as a pacifist, as an enemy of the existing regime and of the war, at least as early as the fall of 1939. "France's greatest mistake," he was reported in Berlin to have told close associates the following spring, "had been to enter the war. In the present state of the country, when peace was concluded the internal distintegration of France which would then clearly emerge would exclude her from European politics for decades to come." But there was no evidence that he was privy to any conspiracy, although his pessimism evidently hardened to the point of his believing in the imminence of defeat and of foreseeing for himself a role in possible army *défaillances à la* 1917. He had even, it is true, discussed the question of forming a new government (although in September he had refused to associate himself in a ministerial capacity with the colleagues of Daladier). He had gone so far as secretly to summon his friend Senator Henry Lémery to San Sebastien to pursue the matter.[4] But all that was

[3] Foreword to the anonymous, *Pétain-Laval: The Conspiracy* (London, 1942), iii. Other versions are in André Schwob, *L'affaire Pétain, faits et documents* (New York, 1944), C. F. Melville, *Guilty Frenchmen* (London, 1940), and André Simone, *J'accuse! The Men Who Betrayed France* (New York, 1940). The guilt, if not actual conspiracies, of the Third Republic's politicians is a kind of countertheme in the literature published in France during the occupation, e.g., Georges Champeaux, *La croisade des démocraties* (Paris, 1943–44). Cf. the discussion of this approach in Paul Farmer, *Vichy—Political Dilemma* (New York, 1955), 122–25. Needless to say, plot theses are not the stock in trade of post–1945 writers, e.g., Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *La mort de la troisième république* (Paris, 1951) or Robert Aron and Georgette Elgey, *Histoire de Vichy, 1940–1944* (Paris, 1954), nor of foreign books such as William L. Langer, *Our Vichy Gamble* (New York, 1947) or D. W. Brogan, *The French Nation, from Napoleon to Pétain: 1814–1940* (New York, 1957), which give balanced accounts, whatever their length. Suggestive essays raising difficult questions about "the failure of élan vital" and "the dessication of the bourgeois spirit," by John B. Wolf and John B. Christopher respectively are in *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics*, ed. Edward Mead Earle (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 19–31, 44–57. And as every reader knows, there are no better general discussions of the whole background of the Republic's demise than David Thomson, *Democracy in France: The Third and Fourth Republics* (New York, 1946, 1952, 1958) and François Goguel, *La politique des partis sous la troisième république* (Paris, 1946), and no more lively contemporary chronicle than Alexander Werth's books on the 1930's, distilled finally into *The Twilight of France* (London, 1942). Though there can be no pretense here of discussing French writings of all kinds, the author believes that there has really been less "widespread and persistent" soul-searching about this defeat on the part of Frenchmen than Donald C. McKay has suggested in "The Third Republic in Retrospect," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXIII (Winter, 1957), 48. Ilya Ehrenburg's graphic novel of the last years of the Republic, *The Fall of Paris* (New York, 1943), is unlikely to be remembered as great literature, but it is full of *actualités*, both real and as prescribed in the world of the party faithful.

[4] Memorandum by State Secretary, Nov. 16, 1939, Auswärtiges Amt, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, ser. D, VIII, no. 363 (hereafter cited as *DGFP*); an embassy official to Foreign Ministry, Mar. 19, 1940, *ibid.*, IX, no. 5; Colonel Eckhart Krahmer to Foreign Ministry, Madrid, May 21, 1940, *ibid.*, no. 297; Pétain to General Paul Vauthier, Jan. 15, 1940, in

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hardly incriminating. The best support for the plot thesis was the sort of thing General Francisco Franco reported that Pétain said as he left the embassy in May, 1940: "My country has been beaten and they are calling me back to make peace and sign the Armistice. You are right. This is the work of thirty years of Marxism. They're calling me to take charge of the nation. . . ."[5] Or there was Anatole de Monzie's well-known diary quotation of the Marshal's saying, "They'll need me in the second half of May"—words impossibly dated March 30 (he was that day still in Spain), but which might have been spoken on May 5, 1940, after Paul Reynaud had probably offered to take him into the council of ministers.[6] The idea of conspiracy, however, was fixed. And the denial of Georges Loustaunau-Lacau that Pétain had had relations with the mysterious Cagoulards did not upset preconceived notions here,[7] much less discredit the rather reliable report that Edouard Daladier had been unable to sleep quietly in his bed during the war when the ambassador to Spain had been in town.[8]

It was not hard to believe, then, that the fall of France was at least partly the result of conspiracy and general political skulduggery; the famous Stavisky scandal of 1934 stood as a kind of permanent reminder of this continuing element in French public life. At the same time, the events of 1940 came to be interpreted as having been marked out by the very nature of things: inevitable. This grand fatality was proclaimed while the war raced across the fields of France in the fierce heat of splendid summer days. General Maxime Weygand, recalled at seventy-two years of age to succeed General Maurice Gamelin, remarked the very day the Battle of France opened on the Somme, "What we are paying for is twenty years of blunders and neglect. It is out of the question to punish the generals and not the teachers who have refused to develop in the children the sense of patriotism and sacrifice."

Louis Noguères, *Le véritable procès du maréchal Pétain* (Paris, 1955), 38. Lémery told his story (as did Jean Mistler, who subsequently visited Pétain on behalf of Anatole de Monzie) to Beau de Loménie. Beau de Loménie, *La mort de la troisième république,* 170–73.

[5] Franco reported his talk in an interview with *Arriba,* quoted in General Pierre Héring, *La vie exemplaire de Philippe Pétain* (Paris, 1952), 77.

[6] Anatole de Monzie, *Ci-devant* (Paris, 1941), 207; Noguères, *Le véritable procès,* 27–35.

[7] Testimony of July 30, 1945, *Le procès du Maréchal Pétain devant la Haute Cour de Justice* (Paris, 1945), 120–21; Georges Loustaunau-Lacau, "Lettre ouverte au Général de Gaulle," *Le monde,* Oct. 30, 1954. Cf. Paul Reynaud, *La France a sauvé l'Europe* (Paris, 1947), II, 421–22, *Au coeur de la mêlée* (Paris, 1951), 914–15, *In the Thick of the Fight* (London, 1955), 571–72; [André Géraud] Pertinax, *Les fossoyeurs* (New York, 1943), II, 33–34, *The Gravediggers of France* (New York, 1944), 334–35; Noguères, *Le véritable procès,* 46–59. Like the official biography, General A. M. E. Laure, *Pétain* (Paris, 1941), Glorney Bolton's pleasant but ineffectual *Pétain* (London, 1957) is of no assistance here.

[8] Maurice Dejean, *Vichy and France: The Rulers—the People* (London, 1941), 5. Cf. the report of a conversation that the Spanish ambassador had with Pétain in Paris on June 3, in which Pétain was said to have ruled out a coup as impossible and added that he must therefore wait on events, *DGFP,* D, IX, no. 376.

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The school system alone had brought about the crumbling of the nation; and those reserve officers who had abandoned their units, the Marshal was to inform Ambassador William C. Bullitt afterward, were the products of "teachers who were Socialists and not patriots." The country had been "rotted" by politics, he told Major General E. L. Spears. "We must pay now, and pay dearly, for the anarchy we have indulged in for so long." Weygand even put such dark thoughts down formally on paper. "The old order of things," ran a memorandum he drew up shortly after the battle had been lost, "a political regime made up of masonic, capitalist and international deals, has brought us where we stand. France has had enough of that."[9] In defeat the soldiers assuaged their pain and humiliation by appeals to the utter hopelessness of the situation they had inherited from the politicians. But it was not only the generals who condemned the situation in which France found herself.

Even the civilian great of the Third Republic who had played the game of politics down to the very end did not hesitate to damn themselves in condemning the regime. "The simple people of the country are as fine as they have ever been," Camille Chautemps, one of the *chefs* of that Radical Socialism on which the political life of France had balanced for decades, remarked somewhat vaguely after the Armistice. "The upper classes have failed completely." Or as Adrien Marquet, Pétain's second Minister of the Interior, explained to the press on June 28, "It is not France that has been conquered. It is a complaisant regime of opportunism and weakness that has collapsed." This conclusion he had in any case reached seven years earlier when, frightening Léon Blum "out of his wits," he proclaimed "a new historic era" (before the Thirtieth Congress of the French Socialist party), and the demise of nineteenth-century liberty and justice.[10] Without in any way suggesting that pessimism had entirely characterized the public servants of France during the war, one would have to note its manifestations. "The game is lost," Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry Alexis Léger told Bullitt on the last day of September. "France stands alone against three dictatorships. Great

[9] Paul Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement, avril–décembre 1940* (Paris, 1948), 122; *The Private Diaries (March 1940 to January 1941) of Paul Baudouin . . .* (London, 1948), 79; Bullitt to Secretary of State, July 1, 1940, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1940* (hereafter cited as *FR*), II, 464; Maxime Weygand, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1950–57), II, *Rappélé au service*, 298–99, *Recalled to Service: The Memoirs of General Maxime Weygand* (London, 1952), 229–30; Major General Sir Edward L. Spears, *Assignment to Catastrophe* (London, 1953–54), II, *The Fall of France, June 1940*, 84, 174. A defense of the schools is in Roger Denux, *Le drame d'enseigner* (Issy-le-Moulineaux, 1944).

[10] Bullitt to Secretary of State, July 1, 1940, *FR, 1940*, II, 469; Louis Georges Planès and Robert Dufourg, *Bordeaux, capitale tragique, et la base navale de Bordeaux-le-Verdon, mai–juin 1940* (Paris, 1956), 168–69. The Neo-Socialist pronouncements are recorded in Barthélemy Montagnon, *Néo-socialisme? Ordre—autorité—nation* (Paris, 1933).

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Britain is not ready. The United States has not even changed the Neutrality Act [such a revision was of course Léger's purpose, and Bullitt's too, perhaps, in reporting this statement]. The democracies are again too late. The Germans know that at this minute with Russian and Italian support they can crush the French Army."[11] From this kind of observation—and Léger's was a point of view that Bullitt considered to be shared by Premier Daladier who, as his own foreign minister, was greatly dependent upon this official—it might be not too difficult to accept the conclusion that the debacle had been militarily and politically inevitable, that the parliamentary Republic had never had a chance of survival. Thus Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *littérateur,* Germanophile, at once a latter-day Bonapartist and an admiring historian of the German Army, sometime secretary of state to the Vichy government, whose eclectic historical skill was as remarkable as his credentials of objectivity were suspect, encountered no great obstacles in tracing through three stout volumes the implacable course of a malignant fate because the state had become "too weak to guarantee its defense."[12] Dazzled still by his old admiration for the fire and youth of the Nazi movement and military machine, compelled to justify a course of action that had brought him a death sentence at the hands of the Fourth Republic, Benoist-Méchin closed his eyes to any alternative outcome in 1940 and invited his readers to do the same.

Other patterns of interpretation emerged. Conspiracy and ineluctability, secular causalities in Clio's muddled realm, were joined by yet a third and supernatural agent. In the immediate aftermath, amid the wreckage of the Republic and all its military glory, the old gods lived again. And on the banks of the Gironde and the Allier the Marshal's attentive ear caught the sound of Jehovah's thunder directed against an erring people. It was not news to him, this Old Testament wrath. Heaven knew he had warned against it for years, begging his fellow countrymen not to forsake their spiritual role, pleading with them to abandon that "very wantonness which is the cause of our divisions. In the midst of magnificent post-war achievements," he told ex-servicemen in 1938, "it was the country's soul that suffered

[11] Bullitt to Secretary of State, Sept. 30, 1939, *FR, 1939,* I, 460; Gordon Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt and the Fall of France," *World Politics,* X (Oct., 1957), 79. Léger remains a somewhat enigmatic figure, but see Elizabeth R. Cameron, "Alexis Saint-Léger Léger," in *The Diplomats, 1919–1939,* ed. Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, N. J., 1953), 378–405. His memoirs are promised: "I have been trusted with many secrets which not even the Foreign Ministers knew about." *Time,* LXXII (Aug. 25, 1958), 58. However, he told François Mauriac, December 4, 1958, that he preferred not to make money by publishing these memoirs at that time because the story did his country no honor. *L'Express,* VI (Dec. 11, 1958), 40.

[12] Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *Soixante jours qui ébranlèrent l'occident, 10 mai–10 juillet, 1940* (3 vols., Paris, 1956), I, 12. This is a day-by-day analysis of the campaign in the west, with a full complement of errors and distortions, an extremely lively set of essays on personalities in the third volume, and a full but uncritical—and occasionally mystifying—bibliography.

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most—because the ideals that bound us together had been lost sight of." For all this the army of France was not to blame; it alone had remained pure, faithful to the religion of France. Sure of this before the outbreak of war, Pétain was unshaken by the conduct of the battle. "Our defeat," he explained as the Armistice went into effect, "is punishment for our moral failures. The mood of sensual pleasure destroyed what the spirit of sacrifice had built up."[13] God and family and country, they had all been sacrificed. It was so obvious that all right-thinking people must agree. (But Raoul de Roussy de Sales in far-off Washington did not. "If the French think this defeat is a punishment from heaven for their sins," he wrote in his diary, "that is evidently one solution: but I do not like the idea of having men like Pétain or Peyrouton saying it."[14] But De Roussy de Sales was now an *émigré,* and *émigrés* were never more suspect.)

Even the often warring world of letters seemed almost to close ranks on this score. André Gide, hitherto not especially notable for his close attention to public affairs, said amen. Louis-Ferdinand Céline, to the limits of the law, heaped abuse on the defunct regime and the enemies of France. And Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, with his usual bewildering eclecticism, carefully distinguished the "rotten apples" from the rest of the barrel. "The France which had read Sorel, Barrès, Maurras, Péguy, Bernanos, Céline, Giono, Malraux, Petitjean," he pointed out, "was not strong enough to impose itself on the France which read A. France, Duhamel, Giraudoux, Mauriac, Maurois." But indeed that resilient chronicler of bourgeois France, François Mauriac, showed himself undeserving of the reproach, for on hearing the Marshal's voice he experienced something like a transport of revelation. "The Marshal's words sounded like something not of this world," he told the readers of *Le Figaro;* "it wasn't a man speaking to us, but from the very depths of our history we were hearing the appeal of the great and humbled nation rising toward us."[15] And if Mauriac stopped short of some identification of Pétain and divine providence, that chaotic character Gustave Hervé—his revolutionary ardor far behind him now—did not. After all, despite Pétain's

[13] Philippe Pétain, *Paroles au Français: Messages et écrits 1934–1941* (Lyon, 1941), 18–19, 27–28, 51. Cf. Henri-Dominique Noble, O.P., *Dieu a-t-il puni la France?* (Paris, 1942). The answer, of course, is affirmative.

[14] Raoul de Roussy de Sales, *The Making of Yesterday* (New York, 1947), 136–37. Posthumously published, this diary is an intelligent commentary on events as seen from Washington between 1938 and 1942.

[15] André Gide, *Pages de journal 1939–42* (New York, 1944), 36, *The Journals of André Gide* (New York, 1948–51), IV, 23; Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Les beaux draps* (Paris, 1941); Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, *Notes pour comprendre le siècle* (Paris, 1941), 173; François Mauriac, *Le Figaro,* July 3, 1940, quoted in "Orion," *Nouveau dictionnaire des girouettes, précédé de l'oubli en politique* (Paris, 1948), 250.

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contempt for him, he had been publicly suspecting this identification for some time, as his 1935 pamphlet *C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut* had suggested. "The ways of Providence are mysterious and impenetrable," he wrote from occupied Paris in his tiny sheet, *La Victoire* (one of the few organs briefly surviving the German entry into the capital). "Perhaps we needed this atrocious catastrophe in order to be saved from the enormous stinking morass into which we had plunged ourselves—especially since our Revolutionary ancestors' mistake."[16] In defeat and disarray nothing was so useful as the hand of God, especially when it could be used to bludgeon the hated revolutionary tradition. And there was in any event something timeless about the mobilization of providence in a secular cause. For, as Léon Blum reflected from his confinement as a personal prisoner of the Marshal at Bourassol, "from the beginning of time national calamity has been linked with the idea of sin or error, and with its natural extension: contrition, expiation and redemption."[17]

With changing times and the reversal of fortunes, as every reader knows, fashions in history also change. And in the aftermath of 1945 what one might call the providential approach to the fall of France seemed less than congenial. Historians tended not to pick it up. But for a little while it had shared honors with conspiracy and ineluctability in the search for explanation of this stunning collapse. And although each of the three may not now be considered equally respectable, one suspects that this little unholy trinity still has its various followings and may yet at a propitious moment echo back from 1940.

In a general way it is probably true that primitive doctrines prove to be rather strong medicine and have to be watered down, or they produce counterbeliefs. It was hardly surprising, then, that from the ranks of the army—which could not continue forever to cling unitedly to the official explanation that civilian decrepitude, subversion, and immorality weighed down the professional soldiery of France—should come a fourth explanation, summed up in the haunting phrase "la guerre des occasions perdues." Taking this for his title and theme, an old soldier from the First World War, a regimental commander in the Second, and a sometime assistant professor of history at Saint-Cyr, Colonel Adolphe Goutard, proceeded to show that France had been defeated through a succession of command mistakes, ignorance, failure of nerve, lack of foresight, and, above all, one abandoned opportunity after

[16] Gustave Hervé, *C'est Pétain qu'-il nous faut* (Paris, 1935); *La Victoire,* June 18, 1940. Cf. Lucien Leclerc and Georges-Émile Dulac, *La vérité sur Gustave Hervé* (Paris, 1946), 19–23.

[17] Blum, *A l'échelle humaine,* in *L'Oeuvre de Léon Blum* (Paris, 1954–), II, 411–12, *For All Mankind* (New York, 1946), 24–25.

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another.[18] Naturally this thesis was no more novel than the phrase itself.[19] It had appeared at the curious and confused Riom trial in 1942, when the government at Vichy had sought to establish the criminality of the Popular Front and the culpability of General Maurice Gamelin. The rather anarchic proceedings, however, had tended to make such uncomfortable reading for everyone, French and German alike, that Berlin submitted its complaints and displeasure, and the trial was adjourned sine die. But now Goutard, better armed than the defense counsel of Daladier, Blum, *et al.*, and drawing on the enemy's revelations and the findings of the postwar Parliamentary Commission investigating—in an extraordinarily hit-and-miss fashion—events in France between 1933 and 1945 (until it also ground to a halt[20]), demolished the army's former charges of matériel deficiencies, at least to his own satisfaction. The ultimate conclusion was simply that "our defeat may be attributed essentially to an intellectual deficiency expressing itself in conservatism, conformity, preconceived ideas and unreal speculations; in short, to a colossal command mistake, made irremediable by a current lack of resilience, much more than to basic impotence of the Army and the country from which it issued."[21] To a reader without the smallest military competence all this seemed ingenious and impressive. And it might be that the demonstration was militarily sound. But even an uninformed layman could have his suspicions that Goutard's argument was somewhat too neat—that indeed it was very much a *pièce d'occasion,* rather like those relentlessly unending, sober-faced, multimapped studies of the campaign of 1870 that filled

[18] Adolphe Goutard, *1940: La guerre des occasions perdues* (Paris, 1956), trans. as *The Battle of France* (London, 1958). See also General Paul Ely, "La leçon qu'il faut tirer des opérations de 1940," *Revue de Défense Nationale,* IX (Dec., 1953), 563–82.

[19] Long before the defeat in the west, in the bitterness of debate after the Finnish armistice, Camille Fernand-Laurent had suggested "la guerre des occasions perdues" might be an appropriate name. Comité Secret, Mar. 19, 1940, *Journal Officiel de la République Française. Débats Parlementaires. Chambre des Députés, Comités Secrets, Numéro Spécial,* Apr. 7, 1948, p. 51 (hereafter cited as *JOC*). Cf. Pierre Bernus in *Journal des Débats,* Jan. 13, 1940: "Things must not happen to permit a Frenchman one day writing a similar one."

[20] The Riom proceedings have never been published in a full and official form, although the records are said to be in the National Archives (Georges Bourgin, "La justice et la guerre," *Revue de Synthèse,* LXI (1946–47), 35–43). Pierre Tissier, *The Riom Trial* (London, 1942) is of use. As comprehensive as any of the partial accounts is Paul Soupiron, *Bazaine contre Gambetta, ou le procès de Riom* (Lyon, 1944), which is poorly edited and generally maddening. See also Maurice Ribet, *Le procès de Riom* (Paris, 1945); James de Coquet, *Le procès de Riom* (Paris, 1945); Léon Blum, *La prison et le procès,* in *L'Oeuvre,* II, 137–404; *id., Léon Blum before His Judges at the Supreme Court of Riom, March 11th and 12th, 1942* (London, 1942). The Parliamentary Commission proceedings are in *Commission d'enquête parlementaire sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945* (2 vols. of reports, 9 vols. of documents, Paris, 1951–54 [hereafter cited as *CE*]). Cf. Henri Michel, "L'oeuvre de la commission parlementaire chargée d'enquêter sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945," *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale,* I (June, 1951), 94–96.

[21] Goutard, *1940,* 401. See also Tony Albord, *Pourquoi cela est arrivé, ou les responsibilités d'une génération militaire (1919–1939)* (Nantes, 1946) and Colonel Fulcien Soulet, *Roncevaux 1940* (Grenoble, 1954).

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the army journals and the respectable bourgeois periodicals of the *belle époque*. Lost opportunities, but real ones: that was the lesson. And no doubt that is a healthy enough attitude to adopt before the young military minds shortly to be responsible for the security of the nation. Laymen, however, are notoriously, incorrigibly unmilitary, and they may retain a doubt or two.

Thus to the leitmotifs of conspiracy, fatality, and providential retribution was added in the military sphere the theme of intellectual incompetence: the unnecessary defeat. From this it was not much of a step to the grand idea of the absurd defeat. This fifth (and in this place arbitrarily final) explanation was announced by a common soldier of the army of 1940 after just thinking about it for the better part of two decades. Whatever other values it might possess, his book had the immense advantage of being by far the most hilarious account of the fall of France. Novelist and satirist, Jean Dutourd seemed in his *The Taxis of the Marne* to be making good Henri Peyre's estimate of him as "one of the rare entertaining writers of an age that prefers to wallow in its anguish rather than to laugh at it."[22] Dutourd made it plain that at the time he had rather wallowed, but that he had grown tired of this and tired of a France that had continued to wallow. Looking back, he decided that the debacle had been not only unnecessary but disgraceful and absurd. Without quite saying so, he suggested that it had been entirely senseless. The paradox here, of course, was that in combatting current philosophies of the absurdity of everything, Dutourd had arrived at a not unrelated conclusion. The strong point of his account, however, was neither logic nor method, but rather a wild kind of splenetic anger that resulted in a good many hits on target—it could scarcely have been otherwise since the target was France—and a lot of broad misses. The scene was set as attractively as possible and the players were costumed with sufficient realism to be recognizable as historical characters. But they were manipulated so madly as to reduce the whole event to fantasy. Across the years the sun still shone down on the fair land of France. "The weather," Dutourd recalled, "was as beautiful as it was in August 1914. I see again the nut trees standing motionless along the unpaved roads. . . . The leaves seemed polished by the light. . . ." Every prospect was pleasing, and only man was foul. For across this idyllic landscape trooped such an unlovely collection of patriots and warriors that the gods must have rocked in mirth and anger: peace-loving generals whose highest ambition was to die quietly at home with their boots off; officers not yet so far advanced in the hierarchy

[22] Henri Peyre, *The Contemporary French Novel* (New York, 1955), 314.

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fleeing westward in well-laden cars, abandoning an undisciplined soldiery whose special concern was to bury its arms, escape the enemy, and loot the local populace; a government that was the very symbol of decay, crowned by a president who "trotted behind the Government like an usher"—all of them evidently watched by a stolid, solid peasantry who on occasion summoned up courage enough to cry, "Get out. If you had fought, you'd be fed now instead of having to beg."[23] Exceptions to this general panorama Dutourd admitted. But the prevailing mood, he insisted, had been a lighthearted abandonment. From start to finish the war had been absurd. Nothing could be more absurd, then, than this defeat.

No mere reader cares to be accused of missing the joke. But perhaps one or two observations may be permitted, without in the least suggesting that the Dutourd version of the fall of France does not contain elements of truth. In the first place, this thesis of the absurd defeat rested on an unwarranted assumption. "Without realizing it," wrote Dutourd, "the *Canard Enchaîné* discovered the motto of slavery. By repeating and repeating, 'What do we care?' we ended up not caring about losing the war, being occupied, dishonored, and trampled on."[24] Would it be necessary to cite chapter and verse to the contrary? Would not a survey of the wartime public press, crippled by censorship as it was and inferior to its responsibility as it might have been, suggest that France had cared? If the domestic struggles of the Republic consequent upon the disillusionment of 1919, the emergence of the Hitlerian menace, and the vast internal social struggle of the 1930's had not been ended but rather intensified by the war, surely the conclusion of mass indifference was unjustified. Not everyone had breathed fiery defiance with Henri de Kérillis in *Époque* or even a quieter determination with Émile Buré in *Ordre*[25]—that was undeniable. It was no exaggeration to say that the war had found France in "a certain disarray, as regards our state of mind," as Daladier so delicately and elliptically put it during a secret session debate.[26] As no observer could doubt, energies and aggressions were directed against Frenchmen that might better have been harnessed to the war effort. The unanimous applause in the Chamber greeting the Premier's famous remark in December, 1939, about the determination of the government to be "sparing of

[23] Jean Dutourd, *The Taxis of the Marne* (New York, 1957), 37, 50, 58.
[24] *Ibid.*, 54.
[25] However controversial the man himself might be, Buré's editorials make some of the most instructive reading on the political and social scene of 1939–1940, reflecting, however indirectly because of the censorship, the continuing domestic wars of a nation no longer enjoying the luxury of international peace.
[26] *JOC, Comité Secret,* Feb. 9, 1940, p. 42.

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French blood"[27] might have been as unrealistic as the promise was politically expedient and eventually worthless. The one thing it did not indicate was indifference.

This ex post facto thesis of national apathy, it might be suggested, arose elsewhere. It was at the very least the creation in part of the generals and the enemies of the parliamentary republic—not that the two were always the same. It had been one thing for clever young intellectuals like Lucien Rebatet and Thierry Maulnier to spend the night of September 3, 1939, out on the town, singing "Ich hatte eine Kamarade" and the "Horst Wessel Lied" in bars along the Boulevard Saint-Germain ("so that the joke should be complete," as Rebatet thought it necessary to explain[28]), but quite another to propose that the French nation as a whole surrendered itself to such despairing hilarity when confronted by the prospect and eventually the certainty of war. Indeed it might be argued that it was the brilliant little group around Robert Brasillach and his protofascist organ *Je suis partout,* self-appointed arbiters of literary taste and self-styled spokesmen for the vital forces remaining in France, who were among the most ardent progenitors of this thesis, the absurd defeat. Never very many, they were by no means all-powerful, though their influence among what the French call "the elite" was considerable. By origin they were a by-product of *Action française.* Incapable of carrying Charles Maurras with them after September 3, they denounced him as a foolish old man. For Maurras (though heaven knew he had had his doubts before the outbreak and was to underline them after the collapse of the regime) refused to ally himself with the party of despair, to subscribe, as he put it, to "this dangerous nonsense."[29] And how far France had refused to be carried along by this *avant-garde* with its Germanophile propensities, Brasillach himself seemed to suggest in one of those sad, lyrical, egotistical last poems written in his cell at Fresnes shortly before they shot him in 1945:

> Mon pays m'a fait mal par ses routes trop pleines,
> Par ses enfants jetés sous les aigles de sang,
> Par ses soldats tirant dans les déroutes vaines,
> Et par le ciel de juin sous le soleil brûlant.[30]

[27] *JOC,* Dec. 23, 1939, p. 2315.

[28] Lucien Rebatet, *Les décombres* (Paris, 1942), 181. This is a long, violent, and scintillating memoir by a thoroughgoing French fascist.

[29] Testimony of Jan. 24, 1945, *Le procès Charles Maurras* (Lyon, 1945), 46. See Rebatet, *Les décombres,* 358.

[30] Robert Brasillach, *Poèmes de Fresnes* (Louvain, 1946), 35. Similar minor expressions are scattered through his revised essays, originally written for *L'Action française* in the 1930's. *Les quatre jeudis* (Paris, 1951). See also his *Notre avant guerre* (Paris, 1941) and *Journal d'un homme occupé* (Paris, 1955).

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Indeed, romantics that they were, racked by pride, arrogance, and, finally, self-pity, longing for the lost days of their youth and dreams, they did not have the satisfaction of having carried with them even all the bright young men to whom they chiefly appealed—as the rather moving journal entries of an obscure and talented philosophy student, Pierre-André Guastalla, would show. For try as he did, dedicated to the groves of academe as he was, young Guastalla did not in the long run, when the terrible days arrived that summer of 1940, remain above the battle. "I know I'm cowardly and weak for not working well right now," he wrote on June 8, the day Weygand told General Charles de Gaulle that he could not stop the German assault;[31] "but I just can't; and that isn't a sophism. Set beside what is happening, all that has no importance."[32]

And then, like the fallacy of national indifference, Dutourd's assumption of two generations, 1914 and 1939, one brave, one spineless, seemed less than convincing. Evidence of shockingly bad morale existed, of course. That General Maurice Gamelin had spent part of his last days on active service drawing up an indictment of the common soldier is true. "Disposed to criticize ceaselessly all those having the least authority," ran his report which the government had requested on the eve of his dismissal from the supreme army command, "encouraged in the name of civilization to enjoy a soft daily life, today's serviceman did not receive in the years between the wars the moral and patriotic education which would have prepared him for the drama in which the country's destiny is going to be played out."[33] The allies of France were equally critical, and Lieutenant General Sir Alan Brooke, commanding the Second Corps, British Expeditionary Force, stood appalled beside General André G. Corap as a slovenly winter parade passed in review. Brooke recalled, "I can still see those troops now. . . . What shook me most . . . was the look in the men's faces, disgruntled and insubordinate looks. . . ." That night in November, 1939, he wrote in his diary, "I could not help wondering whether the French are still a firm enough nation to again take their part in seeing this war through."[34] As it happened, of course, disaster was to strike this Ninth Army, scattering its units before a massive assault of armor and air power in the first days of the German drive west. But the French Army was nothing if not diverse. Not every division belonged to the

[31] Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires de Guerre* (Paris, 1955–57), I, *L'appel, 1940–42*, 44–45, *War Memoirs* (New York, 1955–), I, *The Call to Honor 1940–1942*, 54–55.

[32] Pierre-André Guastalla, *Journal (1940–1944)* (Paris, 1951), 16.

[33] Maurice Gamelin, *Servir* (Paris, 1946–47), I, 357; III, 425.

[34] Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide 1939–1943: A Study based on the Diaries and Autobiographical Notes of Field-Marshal The Viscount Alanbrooke, K.G., O.M.* (London, 1957), 71–72.

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reservist, undertrained, and underequipped Series B formations, or to the "apartment-house janitors" of the Maginot Line, as described by Dutourd, "trailing about the corridors in slippers, playing innumerable games of cards under the silent guns, yawning from morning to night."[35] The whole French Army had not simply waited to be captured or bolted before the enemy, as Adolf Hitler was soon informed. "Very marked differences become apparent in the French when their military ability is evaluated," he wrote to the Duce on May 25. "There are very bad units side by side with excellent ones. On the whole difference in quality between the active and nonactive divisions is extraordinarily noticeable. Many of the active units have fought desperately, the reserve units are for the most part obviously not equal to the impact of battle on morale."[36] The reality and the record then were more complicated than many critics suggested. If it had not been so there would have been no evacuation at Dunkirk—and not even a six weeks' war.

General Joseph-Simon Galliéni's taxicabs at the First Battle of the Marne may well have been a prodigy of logistical ingenuity. But the vast and indisputable errors of 1939–1940 were not to be reversed so primitively. One need not take sides with either Premier Paul Reynaud or Marshal Pétain in questioning the competence, the training, and the will of various commanders. That the fifteen generals who were sacked in May at the height of the battle and under the impact of the German eruption across the Meuse deserved this fate may well be true, although the author of all their woes did not think so.[37] That appallingly inadequate formations such as the Thirty-fifth or the Fifty-fifth Infantry Divisions were equipped and led in a manner bordering on the disgraceful seems certain.[38] But there are names to coun-

[35] Dutourd, *Taxis*, 37.

[36] Hitler to Mussolini, May 25, 1940, *DGFP*, D, IX, no. 317. Hitler did remark to General Juan Vigón on June 16, however, that the French and British soldiers of 1940 were worse than those of 1914. *Ibid.*, no. 456; cf. General Guenther Blumentritt, as quoted by B. H. Liddell Hart: "In the 1940 campaign the French fought bravely but they were no longer the French of 1914–18—of Verdun and the Somme." *The Other Side of the Hill* (rev. ed., London, 1956), 152.

[37] "When I think, Duce, that precisely M. Reynaud is one of the chief culprits in this catastrophe, and when on the other hand I keep in mind the treatment and fate meted out by these parliamentary Democrats to those who are nevertheless still patriotic soldiers, and the fate in store for them in the future, then I am filled with immeasurable contempt for a system and an era which hands over the fate of great nations to these inferior products of nature." May 25, 1940, *DGFP*, D, IX, no. 317.

[38] Henri de Rolland, "La 35e D.I. au combat 1939–1940," *Revue militaire suisse*, XCIII (Feb., Mar., 1948), 87–101, 134–51 (but see the more favorable account by a staff officer of this division, Robert Dufourg, *Brassard rouge, foudres d'or: Souvenirs d'un officier d'état-major 1939–1940* [Bordeaux, 1951]); Jacques Mordal, "La tragédie de la Meuse," *Miroir de l'histoire*, VI (Jan., 1955), 60–69. It was not unknown for commanders who wished to continue the fight to be assassinated by their men. For instance, see the account given by Saul K. Padover, *et al., French Institutions: Values and Politics* (Stanford, Calif., 1954), 72–74; cf. [?] Richecourt: "Who will ever say how many officers were assassinated during the Battle of the Meuse

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terbalance whatever stigma still are attached (if unjustifiedly) to men such as the unfortunate Corap—for the poor man died before he could be properly exonerated. One could list such commanders as René Prioux of the cavalry and Henri Giraud and Aubert Frére of the Seventh Army.[39] And if French soldiers in retreat behaved badly and indulged in pillage, simple honesty would compel a Canadian to point out that Lieutenant General A. G. L. McNaughton's untried First Division was no stranger to what the official historian called drunkenness, indiscipline, and reckless driving in the streets of Brest during the hectic last effort before June 14 to send and then to evacuate British reinforcements. "Although there was evidently no enemy within 200 miles," a Canadian war diary noted, "the withdrawal was conducted as a rout."[40] All in all, without wishing in any way to contribute to what Dutourd called the myth of the glorious defeat in French history, one might still feel that comparisons between 1914 and 1940 were difficult, even impossible, and that whatever purpose they served, it was not that of demonstrating that the generation of 1940 was unworthy of its fathers. An army in defeat is unlikely to look very well at any time. After sixteen years it may look even worse to an angry, not-so-young man with a reputation for satire, a sense of shared guilt, and perhaps a not entirely trustworthy memory of that summer when the walls along the roads of Brittany "were so hot that when we sat down on them we scorched our behinds through the thick khaki cloth of our trousers."[41]

The point is that clever and telling though a social critic like Dutourd may be, he does not in this instance prove much more illuminating than an old Marshal of France who before the event had diagnosed the malady, predicted the demise of the patient, and arranged a program for his resurrection —all in the certainty that almighty providence had delegated powers and that the result was sure. "It's an accepted fact," Pétain told war veterans in 1938, "that defeat always brings Frenchmen to life."[42] The thesis of the absurd defeat, like the thesis of defeat by conspiracy or by incredible bungling (the unnecessary defeat), has the attractiveness and the conviction of simplicity.

trying to regroup men of the units in flight?" *La guerre de cent heures 1940* (Paris, 1944), 268, fn. 1.

[39] See René Prioux, *Souvenirs de guerre 1939–1943* (Paris, 1947); General [?] Fagalde's numerous articles in the *Revue militaire suisse* for 1952; Marcel Lerecouvreux, *L'Armée Giraud en Hollande* (Paris, 1951); Maxime Weygand, *Le Général Frère: Un chef, un héros, un martyr* (Paris, 1949).

[40] Colonel C. P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War* (Ottawa, 1955–), I, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*, 279–80, 292.

[41] Dutourd, *Taxis*, 37.

[42] Pétain, *Paroles*, 14.

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Moreover, as it requires little thought and apparently eliminates every technical difficulty as irrelevant, it has a certain therapeutic value (spurious or real?) in a disintegrating domestic situation where the national psyche has been the object of a thousand prescriptions. But anyone who tried to wrestle with the question of the French Army alone, as being the principle problem of 1940 would have to do more than blacken the generals and ridicule the men. ("For in the last analysis," Daladier insisted before the Parliamentary Commission, "this French defeat was a military defeat. Its causes were profoundly military."[43]) The careful studies already made of this army, its leaders, its doctrines, and its struggles with the civilians show the complications involved in trying to estimate the state of the French war machine and the responsibilities for its condition and employment.[44] It would not do simply to repeat after Robert Darcy the improbable slogan, "France hates its army," or after Daladier the very evident half-truth that legislature and people never refused the army anything it wanted.[45] It would not do simply to fix on the Marshal's notorious preface to General Louis Chauvineau's unhappily titled and timed book *Une invasion, est-elle encore possible?* (it appeared in March, 1939), because one would at once be confronted by Pétain's article in the *Revue des deux mondes* for 1935, warning against a blitzkrieg and the menace of aircraft which were, he said, becoming "more and more formidable."[46] For the fact was that if one combed the pages of

[43] Testimony of May 21, 1947, *CE*, I, 8. Of the many military accounts, see especially Theodore Draper, *The Six Weeks' War: France May 10–June 25, 1940* (New York, 1944); Colonel Pierre Lyet, *La bataille de France* (Paris, 1947); Colonel Raphael Bardies, *La campagne de 1939–1940* (Paris, 1947); Commandant Jacques Minart, *P. C. Vincennes, secteur 4* (Paris, 1945); Lieutenant Colonel [?] Lugand, *et al., La campagne de France (mai–juin 1940)* (Paris, 1953). Partisan accounts by the various generals abound: one of the more interesting and controversial is that of General Victor Bourret, *La tragédie de l'armée française* (Paris, 1947).

[44] See, for instance, Richard D. Challener, *The French Theory of the Nation in Arms 1866–1939* (New York, 1955) and the important doctoral dissertations of Philip F. Bankwitz, "Weygand, a Biographical Study" (Harvard University Library, 1952) and Alvin D. Coox, "French Military Doctrine, 1919–1939; Concepts of Ground and Aerial Warfare" (Harvard University Library, 1951). The spirit of the hour, especially in the lower echelons, has been the subject of many diaries, journals, and other writings; one hesitates to single out any particular examples. But among those which seem particularly revealing are Hans Habe, *A Thousand Shall Fall* (New York, 1941), Daniel Barlone, *A French Officer's Diary (23 August 1939–1 October 1940)* (New York, 1943), Jean Malaquais, *Journal de guerre* (New York, 1943), *Jean Malaquais' War Diary* (New York, 1943), Henry Cheynel, *Carnet de route d'un médecin de l'avant* (Paris, 1946).

[45] Robert Darcy, *Oraison funèbre pour la vieille armée* (Paris, 1947), 51; Daladier testifying at Riom, Soupiron, *Bazaine*, 174–175. Cf. Raoul Girardet, *La société militaire dans la France contemporaine 1815–1939* (Paris, 1953), 316.

[46] Pétain's preface to General Louis Chauvineau, *Une invasion, est-elle encore possible?* (Paris, 1939); Pétain, "La sécurité française pendant les années creuses," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXVI (Mar. 1, 1935), v–vi. On the Pétain preface see the explanation, or partial explanation, given by General Alfred Conquet, *L'énigme de notre manque de divisions blindées (1932–1940) avec une réfutation de certaines responsabilités imputées au Maréchal Pétain* (Paris, 1956), 86–89.

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the military journals he could find pretty much whatever he sought.[47] The notion that French military thought between the wars was entirely sterile would certainly not stand. The great problem was rather to discover who fixed the pattern, when and why. For, as was pointed out years ago, generals like Pétain and Weygand had "haphazardly talked about everything, merely increasing the confusion."[48]

And naturally not only French military doctrine was in question. What about the vast and vague subject of morale? What about the human material the nation provided, the indictment of their fellow countrymen by the great commanders? What had happened, for instance, to the complaints about the poor quality of officers being turned out?[49] What truth was there in that unforgettable and shattering portrait Lucien Rebatet sketched of his army comrades—an undisciplined armed horde, broken down, utterly out of condition, potbellied and humpbacked, with the doctors taking almost anyone capable of simple locomotion?[50] Such statements might be shown to be mere literary exaggerations, or matters of fact; they could hardly be ignored. Problems and questions multiplied as soon as one undertook to investigate any aspect of the collapse. And before them, the sweeping answers of Dutourd seemed less than adequate, distinguished more by wit than illumination. What of the unending social wars of the Republic, of the effects achieved by the outlawed Communist party in its increasingly defeatist publications

[47] For instance, so perceptive an analysis of tank break-through and the necessity for defense in depth as General [?] Barrard, "Réflexions sur la défensive devant les chars en guerre de mouvement," *Revue d'infanterie,* LXXXVI (June, 1935), 1029–47, or General Julien Brossé, "L'appui d'infanterie par les chars rapides et l'artillerie," *Revue militaire générale,* I (June, 1937), 653–78. And on the other hand, so incredibly hollow a mishmash of pretense and verbiage as the influential General H. Bineau's "Réflexions sur la guerre," *Revue des questions de la défense nationale,* I (July, 1939), 377–95, and such outworn and erroneous appraisals of French infantry as "Currus," "La rénovation de notre armement d'infanterie," *Revue d'infanterie,* XC (May, 1939), 861–82. (It was not entirely without interest that Gamelin removed General Bineau from his key position as *major-général* during the phoney war, which decision evidently elicited the displeasure of Pétain. Bineau later became Pétain's chief of staff. See the letter of General Alphonse Georges to General Émile Laure, June 21, 1941, in Noguères, *Le véritable procès,* 38–39.)

[48] Arpad F. Kovacs, "Military Origins of the Fall of France," *Military Affairs,* VII (Spring, 1943), 31. In the light of 1940, nothing is more interesting than to read the prewar writings of General Gamelin who, perhaps, best represented that middle-of-the-road position, confident and accommodating, that *immobilisme* which was tradition and the lessons of the past dressed up, from time to time, in progressive sentiment. See his "Réflexions sur le chef," *Revue de France,* XI (May 1, 1931), 25–30, "Allocutions prononcées devant les élèves de l'École Polytéchnique et de l'école spéciale militaire," *Revue militarie française,* CVI (May, 1936), 137–42, and "Hier et demain," *Revue militaire générale,* I (Jan., 1937), 25–28.

[49] Besson testifying at Riom, Mar. 17, 1942, Soupiron, *Bazaine,* 148–49.

[50] Rebatet, *Les décombres,* 261–62. Cf. the rather lyrical *Paris-soir* variety of memories of these men which Joseph Kessel sketched in *Témoin parmi les hommes* (Paris, 1956), III, *L'heure des châtiments,* 127–61, which is not quite what the soldiers themselves recalled, e.g., Maurice Fombeure, *Les godillots sont lourds* (Paris, 1948), 113–14.

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and activities during the long, wretched winter of 1939–1940?[51] What of the provocative—though in wartime veiled—diatribes of *Gringoire, Candide,* and *Je suis partout* among Frenchmen of another social milieu?[52] What of that deep-seated tradition of pacifism which in the 1930's gained ground with the intelligentsia of the Right (where earlier it had been the preserve chiefly of the Left) and was to lead everywhere to a militant neutralism opposed to the policy of external commitments east or west, expressing itself in literary, political, business, and labor circles, feeding upon the social struggle, driven temporarily underground by the outbreak of war, until it emerged in the dark days as a full-fledged and insistent defeatism?[53] So many considerations converged on that ultimate question involved in explaining the fall of France.

And back of it all were things not only military and French. Before that gloomy first day of the war—blue Monday if ever there was one—when Gamelin, deep in his fortress at Vincennes, stood jabbing the map of the western front where he intended to make a sortie (such was the end of the Anglo-French guarantee to Poland), saying to General Sir Edmund Iron-

[51] ". . . Both Reynaud and Mandel now expect Communist uprising and butcheries in the city of Paris and other industrial centers as the German Army draws near." Bullitt to Secretary of State, May 28, 1940, *FR, 1940,* II, 453; Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt," 85. Such fears, of course, proved to be groundless. The fundamental work on this question is the vastly detailed Angelo Rossi, *Les communistes pendant la drôle de guerre* (Paris, 1951). The post-June 22, 1941, party revision and interpretation of its clandestine activities may be seen in Maurice Thorez' "autobiography," *Fils du Peuple* (Paris, 1950), 153–69.

[52] *Gringoire* (Oct. 19, 1939) could get a cartoon past the censor showing Léon Blum ringing a bell in the portico of the Chamber of Deputies, with the caption "La mobilisation de la salive." But *Je suis partout* was not permitted to publish a cartoon depicting Reynaud leading Marianne along, her hand to her head in distress. The caption was, "Where are you taking me, *misérable petit* Reynaud?—"Come along! Churchill will tell us!" (It appeared finally, for the record, February 7, 1941.) *Candide* got away with a patently defeatist expression when Alexis Léger was sacked from the Quai d'Orsay, saying this was "an adaptation to circumstances of the foreign policy championed by M. Léger, and of which the least one can say is that it took no account of events after defying common sense." (May 29, 1940.) See the important article of Raoul Girardet, "Notes sur l'esprit d'un fascisme français," *Revue française de science politique,* V (July–Sept., 1955), 529–46.

[53] See Thierry Maulnier's essays dating from 1939 and 1941, which he thought good enough, or sufficiently unembarrassing, to reprint as *La France, la guerre et la paix* (Montreal, 1942); Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, *Ne plus attendre: Notes à leur date* (Paris, 1941); and earlier expressions of similar views in Pierre Dominique, *Après Munich. Veux-tu vivre ou mourir?* (Paris, 1938) and Emmanuel Berl, *Frère bourgeois mourez-vous? Ding! Ding! Dong!* (Paris, 1938). Pierre-Étienne Flandin was a leading exponent of accommodation to the post-1936 situation, as he made plain in "interviews." See Raymond Recouly, "Une visite au Président Flandin," *Revue de France,* XVIII (Aug. 1, 1938), 289–96. Many indications of the pacifist current are in Charles Micaud, *The French Right and Nazi Germany 1933–1939* (Durham, N. C., 1943) and Henry W. Ehrmann, *French Labor from Popular Front to Liberation* (New York, 1947). Most French businessmen, Ehrmann concluded in another study, "accepted the demise of the republic coming in the wake of defeat with equanimity and sometimes with glee." *Organized Business in France* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 57. All of these pacifist or defeatist currents ran not very far beneath the surface during the war, drawing criticism occasionally and demands for government action against them, e.g., Jacques Madaule, "La France en guerre," *Esprit,* VIII (Feb., 1940), 328.

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side, "It's a little test, you see—a little test,"[54]—before that was a tangled French diplomacy and a gradual, unwilling involvement at the side of an ally who was unnervingly unprepared for war. Indeed, official histories did not always quite reveal the extent of that unpreparedness.[55] The difficult matter of Franco-British relations on the policy and military levels could scarcely be avoided. Without suggesting that the two governments and armies experienced, before June at all events, any greater friction than they had during the First World War, it might still be held that the troubles they ran into before the French request for an armistice were neither small nor without serious consequences for the battle. For they were strange allies, these two peoples: essentially suspicious of each other, perhaps never entirely emotionally convinced by the diplomatic revolution effected in 1904, making the best of it and teetering along in a sentimental mood of music hall jokes and creaking old references to "Mademoiselle from Armentières." As a basis for a war coalition it was a pretty fragile combination. If ever there had been a bloom on the wartime romance of 1914–1918, twenty-five years of varied and sometimes acrimonious relations had largely contrived to take it off. The last grand July 14 *défilé* along the Avenue des Champs Elysées in 1939 had heard shouts of "Ooray" for good old Tommy marching along out of the haze of the glorious and bloody past,[56] but this public demonstration of mutual fidelity and respect was fated not to last: the storm swept all before it. A few weeks after the Armistice at Compiègne, Pierre Laval told Robert Murphy "off the record" that he "hoped ardently that the English would be defeated." And some months later he remarked to Freeman Matthews, "Well, the British may be fighting your battle; they certainly did not fight ours."[57] This point of view was at that time, at least, predominant in France.

But long before these bitter confidences of the vice-premier, on the morning of July 6, 1940, the important and sober newspaper *Le temps* let loose a blast that might have seemed to herald the end for the work of Théophile

[54] Slessor, *Central Blue*, 243.

[55] Major L. F. Ellis, *The War in France and Flanders, 1939–1940* (London, 1953) and Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II. (T. K. Derry, *The Campaign in Norway* [London, 1952] is admirably frank.) Some of the generals have been less guarded. "What might have happened if the Germans had attacked before the winter [1939–1940] makes one shudder to think," was Brooke's remark (Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 66). Cf. Major General Sir John Kennedy, *The Business of War: The War Narrative of . . .* (London, 1957), 1–22. In some ways the Civil Series of the United Kingdom Official History is more revealing on the state of British preparedness. See especially Sir Keith Hancock and M. M. Gowing, *British War Economy* (London, 1949), 11–72, and M. M. Postan, *British War Production* (London, 1952), 1–114.

[56] "Genet," "Letter from Paris," *New Yorker*, XIV (July 29, 1939), 51. "The French Army looked as magnificent as ever. It never entered our heads that their morale was rotten at the core." Kennedy, *Business of War*, 11.

[57] Robert Murphy to Secretary of State, July 29, 1940, *FR, 1940*, II, 379, H. Freeman Matthews to Secretary of State, Nov. 14, 1940, *ibid.*, 406.

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Delcassé and his ambassadors of forty years before. "For twenty years," ran the editorial, "Great Britain—while aiding German recovery in order to hamper the development of France, which was in any event so small a threat —has always prevented every rapprochement between Paris and Berlin, and every intimacy between our country and Italy."[58] The date, of course, is essential: July 6. Three days earlier had occurred the lamentable action against the French fleet, principally in order to ensure that it did not one day fall intact into the hands of the Axis powers. The threats, the seizures, and the thousand and more sailors dying and dead in the horrifying holocaust Winston Churchill so questionably ordered as a last resort, and Admiral Sir James Somerville so reluctantly created in the Mediterranean anchorage of Mers-el-Kébir, explained a lot.[59] But the discontents with Great Britain were older than that.

All this, then, merely suggests that the fall of France poses a problem not only in internal matters, military and civil, political and social (of which nothing can be said here), but in diplomacy and allied warfare also. And if one adds the necessity of taking account of the policies and chance occurrences on the side of the enemy also—for instance, the events flowing out of the fundamental alteration of plan after October, 1939[60]—it becomes evident that simple formulas explaining defeat or lost opportunities for victory will not suffice. More seriously, perhaps, they are misleading. Possibly at this point the haunting title of Marc Bloch's little study may be recalled, the best title anyone has yet chosen: *Strange Defeat.* And there comes to mind also

[58] *Le temps,* July 6, 1940. Cf. Jacques Bardoux, "La rupture franco-britannique," *Revue des deux mondes,* XXXII (July 15, 1940), 54–63. Some of the wartime difficulties between the two countries have been briefly discussed in John C. Cairns, "Great Britain and the Fall of France: A Study in Allied Disunity," *Journal of Modern History,* XXVII (Dec., 1955), 365–409, and in Klaus-Jurgen Müller, *Das Ende des Entente Cordiale. Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der englisch-französischen Beziehungen während des Westfeldzuges 1940* (Frankfurt am Main, 1956). See also Hancock and Gowing, *British War Economy,* 179–96, and the reflection of French discontents and suspicions in Bullitt to Secretary of State, November 11, 1939, *FR, 1939,* I, 568; Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt," 76–77.

[59] On Mers-el-Kébir, see Pierre Varillon, *Mers-el-Kébir* (Paris, 1949); Albert Kammerer, *La passion de la flotte française de Mers el Kébir à Toulon* (Paris, 1951), 145–221; De Belot, *La marine française,* 232–95; Major I.S.O. Playfair, *et al., The Mediterranean and the Middle East* (London, 1954), 131–38; Philip Bell, "Great Britain and the French Fleet June–July 1940," *Aberdeen University Review,* XXXVII (Spring, 1957), 42–56; and Klaus-Jurgen Müller, "Die britischen Aktionen gegen die französische Flotte vom Juli 1940 in Rahmen der britischen Frankreichpolitik," *Marine Rundschau,* LIII (Oct., 1956), 144–55. Pétain attributed the attack to the snap judgment of the British Prime Minister, "who is capable of almost any rash act when drunk as he frequently is." The alcoholic interpretation of British policy evidently reigned in Vichy as it did in Berlin, for François Darlan likewise spoke of that "drunkard Churchill who had crawled to him on his knees during 10 months only to turn on him at Mers-el-Kébir." Murphy to Secretary of State, Dec. 12 and 14, 1940, *FR, 1940,* II, 418–19, 491.

[60] See Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Fall Gelb. Der Kampf um den deutschen Operationsplan zur Westoffensive 1940* (Wiesbaden, 1957); Louis Koeltz, *Comment s'est joué notre destin: Hitler et l'offensive du 10 mai 1940* (Paris, 1957).

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those evocative opening words of that other, very different book, Antoine de Saint Exupéry's *Pilote de guerre,* "Surely I must be dreaming. . . ."[61] Historians, of course, demand more solid fare, and would turn their back on anyone who presented some such explanation as defeat by bewilderment. It will not be put forward here. The war ended, however, not because it was absurd —it was afterward that the nation learned that the war had been *imbécile*— but because for a whole concatenation of reasons it had become impossible. "We did not go on fighting," De Saint Exupéry remarked later, "because the whole army understood instinctively that it was no use."[62] However vague and partial such a formula as defeat by bewilderment might be, it would at the very least seem superior to defeat by conspiracy, defeat through fatality, defeat at the hands of outraged providence, or merely the unnecessary defeat. As for the absurd defeat and the golden memory of Galliéni's taxicabs in that other war which for twenty years was the cause of pride, fear, and sorrow, comparison of the two seems unprofitable—the product of nostalgia for a lost and comfortable past: a remembrance of happier things past.

So Jean Dutourd, crying *mea culpa* for himself and his generation, who, he insisted, had neither cared nor fought, will stand for that serio-comic view of the war of 1939–1940 which suggested that the levity of 1870 had met its match seventy years later. Probably the spirit of *Tout va très bien, Madame la Marquise* was not the spirit Charles Péguy, leaving for "the last of wars" a quarter century before, had carried with him to his death along that road at the first Battle of the Marne. But was it so simple a matter as spirit in 1914 or in 1940? Surely a great many events and developments of the twenty years between would have had to be suppressed; a great many irremovable elements from the 1914 situation would have had to be transported across the years in order to right the balance of 1940. And that sort of magic was impossible. That is why Clio, aged though she be, is such a wicked old temptress. And the impossibility of such a historical removal, it might be added, was even suggested by one of the last motion pictures to be advertised in Paris as the enemy columns rolled toward the stricken capital lying under a pall of black smoke and as the taxis drove off this time to the southwest. It was called *You Can't Take It with You.*[63]

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[61] Marc Bloch, *L'étrange défaite* (Paris, 1946; 2d ed., 1957), *Strange Defeat* (London, 1949); Antoine de Saint Exupéry, *Pilote de guerre* (New York, 1942), *Flight to Arras* (New York, 1942).

[62] Quoted Jan. 4, 1941, by De Roussy de Sales, *Making of Yesterday,* 176.

[63] New York *Herald Tribune* (Paris ed.), June 11, 1940.

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Reviews of Books

General

KRITIK DER HISTORISCHEN VERNUNFT. By *Alois Dempf*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1957. Pp. 319. DM 34.)

BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT: AN ESSAY ON HISTORY. By *Nathan Rotenstreich*. With a foreword by *Martin Buber*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xxix, 329. $5.00.)

HISTORICAL theory and historical practice usually exist in separate realms. The practicing historian, even though aware of the need for a philosophical inquiry into the nature of his discipline, tends to shy away from the risks and rigors of such a critical study. The philosopher of history, on the other hand, all too often dwells in a realm of abstract generality that is rarely informed by an intimate knowledge of the problem of the workaday historian. A few masters have been equally creative in both realms; among moderns, one thinks at once of Croce and especially of Dilthey. The books of Alois Dempf and Nathan Rotenstreich do not bridge the gulf despite the title of the first, which recalls Dilthey's central hope of writing a critique of historical reason, and despite Martin Buber's assertion in his foreword to Rotenstreich's work that the latter's study helps to fill the need that Dilthey first diagnosed.

Both books seek to perpetuate the renewed critical, metaphysical concern that entered historical thinking around the turn of the century. Both of them are, to some extent at least, epistemological inquiries into historical knowledge, and both are critical of the presuppositions and practices of the prevailing historiographical mode, of historicism. Their dissatisfaction may heighten the uncertainties of the practicing historian, but it will do little to alter current practices.

This is particularly true of Dempf's work, couched as it is in that impenetrable style so exasperatingly familiar to readers of German second-rate metaphysics. Nearly thirty years ago Dempf, a Catholic philosopher-historian, published a study of medieval political thought, *Sacrum Imperium*, which, despite its erudition and its willful originality, was decried even by German historians for its murkiness. His present and even more ambitious effort is marred by the same flaw. His basic premise is "that since we have again the courage to talk of a universally valid organization of the human mind and body, since we again perceive the laws of its structure [*Gestaltgesetze*], it is possible to attempt a critique of historical reason from the vantage point of pure reason, which now is once again recognized." His major concern, however, is not with an epistemological or

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critical scrutiny of historical knowledge but with systematically integrating into an eternal body of truth the residues of the successive manifestations of historical reason. Dempf's dense analysis of the different types of reason and of law has an avowedly practical aim: to transcend all the previously prevailing, time-bound philosophical systems and to arrive at eternal norms. A large part of his work consists of an analytical summary of the historical spirit in its successive forms: of philosophic reason in Greece, of believing reason in the Christian era, of scientific understanding in the modern age. Beyond the civilization of modernity lies the coming age of culture, an age in which "the integration of the results of converging [scientific] research" and the reconciliation of science and pure philosophy will yield a universal concept of community. The coming world epoch will be "an age not of time-bound philosophy, but of supratemporal philosophy, of the return of reason and of the eternal law." In some manner Dempf seems to have cast himself in the role of a Kantian investigating the relation of pure reason and historical knowledge; but in his aim and tone, in his search for universal laws, and in his review of the spirit of previous civilizations, his work seems more like an obscure mixture of Saint Thomas and Spengler. The practicing historian's lamentable distrust of philosophy will be strengthened, not dispelled, by this supreme example of pretentious mystification.

Nathan Rotenstreich's *Between Past and Present* is a far more rewarding and important work, and it fully deserves the painstaking reading it requires. The author, a professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, successfully combines "a dialectical inquiry into some basic problems in history with a critical evaluation of some current views." The problems he analyzes are the perennial problems of the historian: the relation in history of object and subject; the relation of the historical process in the past working toward the future and of historical knowledge in the present working toward the past; the questions of objectivity, causality, prediction, historical laws, and the relation between history and social science. Rotenstreich illuminates all these questions by his carefully wrought definition of historical time, which he deems central to an analysis of historical knowledge. His principle strictures are directed against historicism, and his critical elaboration of the philosophical and problematical nature of history demonstrates by contrast the essential poverty of contemporary historical positivism. From the premise "that the essence and the task of historical knowledge are to discover how the past determines the present and what the past is," Rotenstreich is perforce led to stress the search for meaning and causality in history, and to emphasize the rationality inherent in the historical process and in historical reflection. On many of the traditional questions he arrives, rather elaborately to be sure, at common-sense answers: for example, "historical knowledge imposes on itself the provisionality of its perspective," objectivity is not attainable but the historian must strive after it, and he must realize that his work can be judged on the basis of well-determined criteria. He also shows common sense in his insist-

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ence that causality is inherent in historical knowledge but that history neither possesses predictive power nor allows for the inference of general laws. But common sense philosophically analyzed and buttressed is of immense value, and Rotenstreich's study is a persuasive reminder that historical theory illuminates the philosophical depths in which the practicing historian carries on his work, often without realizing the precariousness and the promise of his terrain. For as Rotenstreich concludes: "Reflection is the metaphysical and cognitive presupposition of history. It is related to the essence of man and not to the nature of history. . . . Man is historical precisely because he is more than historical."

Columbia University FRITZ STERN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. THE COUNTRIES OF DECISION: RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, by *Warren Bartlett Walsh*; THE NEAR EAST, by *William Yale*; THE FAR EAST, by *Nathaniel Peffer*; LATIN AMERICA, by *J. Fred Rippy*. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 640, xxiii; x, 485, xix; vi, 489, xii; xiii, 579, xx. $35.00 the set.)

THE announcement of this new history of the modern world, to be completed in fifteen volumes by American and British historians who are recognized authorities in their fields, has already aroused the interest of historians and history teachers. Now that the first four volumes are available it is certain the project will also interest a wide circle of the reading public. Speaking for himself and his collaborators, Professor Nevins states, "We have done our utmost to make this series a beaconlight to all American families who wish to grasp the development of the modern world, and the part we must play in it." Though aimed at the intelligent layman, the volumes may well serve as texts and will certainly find a place on the lists for additional reading in many college history courses.

The need for more up-to-date histories conceived on a global scale, written with authority, and comprehensible to all citizens with adult minds has been manifest since World War II. This new series has been conscientiously planned for a major purpose—the education (and re-education) of the American public in the complex historical movements that shaped and are shaping the contemporary world.

Allan Nevins planned and directed the series during its earlier stages. In the later stages he has had the assistance of Howard M. Ehrmann as coeditor. The University of Michigan Press has made the volumes more than usually attractive in design, type, and format. Each of the four volumes already published is organized as an independent unit and merits an individual evaluation.

The author of *Russia and the Soviet Union,* Warren Bartlett Walsh, has made a contribution that is remarkable for clarity, balance, objectivity, and

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modesty. Approximately one-fourth is devoted to the geographic background and the course of Russian history to 1800, one-fourth to the nineteenth century, and one-half to the twentieth century. When he comes to discuss Soviet foreign policy since Munich, Walsh frankly concedes: "So many items are still controversial that all conclusions must be regarded as tentative. . . ." Nowhere, however, does his caution and modesty lead him to withhold his own informed and judicious opinions where these are in order. His familiarity with an enormous body of material is evident from the text, the twelve pages of chapter notes, and the thirty-six pages of suggested readings. These last constitute in reality a select bibliography of more than a thousand titles. This scholarly impedimenta, presented in each of the volumes after the close of the narrative, need not delay or intimidate the casual reader and will be appreciated by the serious student.

William Yale's firsthand knowledge of *The Near East* and its peoples gives his regional study immediacy, charm, and lucidity. His rapid survey of the geography and history of the region from early times to the nineteenth century is admirably clear; his deft and detailed analyses of the cumulative trends of the last 160 years correlates internal events and external pressures with unfailing skill. Half the volume is reserved for developments since 1914. The motives and effects of European imperialism and the American misjudgments that have damaged our prestige throughout the Near East are discussed with instructive candor. Amplified with sixteen maps, thirteen pages of chapter notes, and three pages of suggested readings, this volume is a valuable and informative study on an area undergoing a critical transition.

Professor J. Fred Rippy's awareness of the individuality of the Latin American regions and peoples, the lasting significance (too often minimized) of their constricted development in the colonial period, and the resources and ambitions that are now making them a force in world affairs lend vigor and vision to his eloquent survey. Because of his open-minded approach to the acute problems—ethnic, religious, cultural, political, economic—faced by our southern neighbors, Rippy is particularly well fitted to interpret their aspirations in terms we can comprehend. He has divided his volume into three roughly equal parts: the colonial, the early national, and the recent periods; and he concludes with a penetrating appraisal of "Latin-American Civilization at Mid-Century." In addition to fourteen maps, eighteen pages of notes, and nine pages of suggested readings, he includes seven pages of statistical tables. The style, grace, and perception with which he writes exemplify the aims and standards announced for the series.

Nathaniel Peffer confines his volume very largely to China and Japan since 1800. Of his fifty-two chapters the first two describe the traditional Chinese and Japanese systems; near the close he has three chapters on southeast Asia and Korea. His major theme, "the impact of the new and freshly invigorated West on the old and static East," introduces a motivation and logic that make the march of events appear consistent and almost predictable. "Between 1800 and

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1950 there was more change in East Asia than there had been in the previous two thousand years," he observes, and emphasizes the point that the contemporary revolution transforming East Asia is being effected by modern industrialism. His diagnoses and conclusions are vigorously phrased, but the evidence on which he bases them is not always indicated. This volume differs from the others in that it has no chapter notes, no subsection headings within the chapters, and fewer maps. The suggested readings are limited to works available in English.

With eleven more volumes slated for publication by 1961, it would be premature to form more than a tentative judgment now on the value of the series. Some deductions may be drawn, however, from the four volumes in print and the forecast of those to come. The most arresting characteristic of the first four volumes, viewed collectively, is their foreshortening of the time perspective. Half their total space is reserved for the developments since 1900, three-fourths for developments since 1800. Among the volumes in preparation, two deal with the United States, one with Canada, and one with Australia and the southwest Pacific. These considerations suggest that the editors regard modern history, or more correctly modern world history, as very largely, if not exclusively, the history of the past two hundred years.

A second inference may be drawn from the collective caption, "The Countries of Decision," under which the first four volumes are presented. It implies that the Near East, the Far East, Soviet Russia, and Latin America are considered critical areas in which the shape of things to come may be decided. Such a view is in accord with the editors' concern to prepare readers for the world in which they must live. One may surmise that the same concern accounts for the allotment of one whole volume to Canada and one to Australia. Americans now reaching maturity may expect to see these rising commonwealths approach the population and weight in world affairs enjoyed today by France or Italy, which are also allotted one volume apiece.

"The Second World War," Professor Nevins wrote in 1943, "has plainly ended an era and has thrown all preceding events into a new perspective." The attempt, implicit in this new series, to explain contemporary world conditions by their proximate causes rather than their remote historical antecedents, represents a major effort to achieve such a new perspective. Both the published volumes and the general plan transcend the parochialism of national annals and the constricting bonds of an outmoded Europocentric historiography. "The highest function of education," in the words of Cornelis de Kiewiet, "is to make human experience contemporary; that is, to make it available in the life of a man or a nation." If this *History of the Modern World* fulfills the promise of its opening volumes, it should discharge this highest function with commendable success.

Yet all historians, however independent, must make some concessions to "the irrelevance of their traditional vocabulary." As a title "The Near East" is a legacy

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of Europocentric thinking. It is, moreover, an indefinite label already largely superseded by another ambiguous phrase, "The Middle East." "The Far East" as a designation for China and Japan is open to similar objections. It consorts oddly with the adjacent area described in a later title as the southwest Pacific, and it obscures the fact that Tokyo lies nearer to our shores than does Baghdad.

For general comparison the *History of the Modern World* may be measured against the *Rise of Modern Europe* series edited by William L. Langer. When both are completed the Nevins and Ehrmann series promises to run a million words longer in text matter. But the really significant differences lie in focus and organization. The Langer series is concentrated on Europe; each of its volumes has its own specific time span to cover; and half the volumes deal with events preceding 1789. In the Nevins and Ehrmann series three-fifths of the volumes are devoted to regions outside Europe; every volume has a different geographical area to cover; and half the space available will apparently be reserved for the twentieth century.

The most disappointing limitation evident in the *History of the Modern World* is that its volumes are apparently to remain fifteen discrete unnumbered units. In the four that have appeared only the similarity of format and two lines facing the title page make it clear that they are related volumes intended to fill a place in a comprehensive set. The average reader wrestling with problems of global history needs all reasonable aids to help him trace parallel developments in disparate regions and correlate contemporaneous events. In the absence of cross references, an editorial introduction briefly explaining the scope, use, and purpose of the series would be a helpful addition for all volumes. If it also included comments on the particular volume concerned, such comments could serve to identify the author by something more than his name, indicate the significance of his contribution, and relate it to its companions in the series.

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

DIE WELTGESCHICHTLICHE ERFASSUNG DES ORIENTS BEI HEGEL UND RANKE. By *Ernst Schulin*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. x, 325. DM 32.)

FROM Voltaire to Toynbee the place of the Orient in world history has been shaped by shifting tides of Western thought and by alternating waves of expectation and fear aroused in Europe as a response to its own expansion in Asia. In this tradition Hegel and Ranke stand intellectually at the watershed between Enlightened and Romantic admirers of the East and later proponents of Western superiority and militant racism.

Schulin's analysis of Hegel's position is grounded on the Oriental section

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in the *Philosophy of History* and buttressed with additional materials from his other major writings and the lecture notes of his students. By carefully fitting together these diverse materials, the author shows how Hegel's concept of a unitary Orient developed in relation to the totality of his thought. The Oriental world, which geographically includes everything from China to Egypt, has as its inherent and distinctive principle what Hegel calls a substantial morality. This is a morality prescribed by law or tradition, but which is unconfirmed by subjective, individual wills. History begins with the theocratic despotism of the Chinese and Mongols, societies in which the individual has no freedom. Though Hegel intentionally foreshortened history by abstraction, he nevertheless incorporated profuse detail on China and India gathered from contemporary Western anthropological, philological, and religious literature.

In India, where there is no single political power, the individual's freedom is limited by a theocratic aristocracy. Like China, India is a closed society and outside of the main stream of world history. Yet Hegel allots more space to India than to any other Oriental state. More than any other previous world historian, he is moved to try for a reconciliation of the philologists' descriptions of India's high culture of the past with the derogatory portrayals of contemporary English detractors. Such descriptions of a chaotic Orient gave Hegel his basis for denying the Far East a place in the inner dynamics of world history. He historicized China and India as static societies in which the present is concomitant with the past.

Ranke, in the preface to his *World History,* pronounces as "unhistorical" Hegel's method of postulating the eternal stagnation of the Orient. The father of empirical history, who himself posited in 1824 the unity and world historical paramountcy of the Latin and Germanic peoples, excludes the entire Far East from history by dismissing native documents on antiquity and chronology as being either secondary or unreliable. He therefore paid almost no heed to the materials being produced on the Orient by writers in related fields. But Schulin shows how Ranke, despite his denunciation of historical presentism, is moved through his sympathy for the Serbian nationalist movement to adopt a forthright belligerency toward Turkey and Islam. Like Bossuet, Ranke centers his attention on the world historical importance of the monotheistic concept as it developed in the Near East and through the Hebrew nation. Schulin's story of the Orient's decline in Western world history concludes with a short observation on Burckhardt, who so prized the classical and medieval traditions of the West and so feared that its limpid stream might be sullied by alien infiltrations that he completely excluded China from his lectures and ended by denouncing Islam as "the victory of triviality."

Schulin's book is a distinguished pioneering effort in a difficult field. It is marred slightly by overorganization, repetition, and too little concern for appropriate secondary materials. And one looks in vain for references to Hegel's influence upon Marx's conception of Asia. Still, this work contributes significantly

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to the available literature on nineteenth-century historiography and to the growing list of studies dealing with the impact of Asia on Western thought.

University of Chicago DONALD F. LACH

THE COURSE OF MODERN JEWISH HISTORY. By *Howard M. Sachar.* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. 617. $6.00.)

HOWARD Sachar, at the beginning of his professional career, has done what the late Ismar Elbogen of Berlin did at the end of a life of learning and scholarship: he has written and published the history of the Jewish people since 1789. Elbogen's work, written in the classic manner of Ranke and Graetz, is a description of the facts and of their historical interrelations. Mr. Sachar, as a student of the modern schools of historiography, is concerned with sociology, anthropology, and the insights of Freud, Jung, Riesman, and others. It appears to this reviewer that Sachar has dealt fully with all these possible ramifications of cause and effect; it is to be regretted that he did not give equal weight to the economic interpretation of historical data and the consideration of the applied arts. Because of the nature of the subject, however, these latter limitations do not detract from the book's general value.

The nineteenth century is one of the great watersheds in Jewish history and Jewish life. Emancipation, both physical and intellectual, is accomplished and the Jew, the individual, enters modern society. He contributes greatly and fruitfully to all phases of modern life, politics, literature, the arts, economic development, philosophic thought, and jurisprudence. Among the Jews making contributions were Disraeli, Blum, Heine, Kafka, Reinhardt, the Rothschilds, Marx, Bergson, Buber, Rosenzweig, Cardozo, Brandeis, and those great Jewish pathfinders in science and medicine, Hertz, Freud, Einstein, Semmelweiss, Ehrlich, Waxman, and Salk.

Nevertheless, this experiment of individual emancipation was doomed to failure because it meant the ultimate elimination of Judaism and the complete submergence of the Jew in the Christian European civilization. This was the one solution of the Jewish question desired by neither the Jewish group nor the non-Jewish majority in most countries. The twentieth century, with its emphasis upon integral nationalism and on the possibility of cultural pluralism, brought to Jews both the great catastrophe in Eastern Europe and Hitler's holocaust as well as the re-creation of Israel and the fulfillment of the American promise. Sachar effectively presents the emergence of this situation and the formation of the contemporary scene. He has a good command of English: narrative and analysis flow easily and smoothly. He always sees the specifically Jewish against the background and in the setting of general history.

The last hundred and fifty pages describe the developments of the immediate past, World War II, the new Israel, and the American community of the mid-

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century. We are still too close to these events to see them in their proper perspective and relevance, and thus by necessity Sachar's work becomes chronicle and biography. This reader would have wished the book were published without this addendum, which, though important, does not increase its permanent value.

At times the author of this valuable Jewish history seems to overlook that such a work should serve both the Jewish and the general reader. He assumes a degree of acquaintance with Jewish lore and history that most readers do not have. These criticisms are minor; Sachar has done a good job and the profession may expect much from this young historian.

University of Judaism FRANK ROSENTHAL

STALIN'S FAILURE IN CHINA, 1924–1927. By *Conrad Brandt.* [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 31.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 226. $4.75.)

THE period of the first united front between the Nationalists and Communists in China (1924–1927) involved almost impossibly complex forces and relationships in a politically fragmented country, some of them simply without pattern or organization. Many of the accounts already published have been motivated by self-justification on the part of Stalinists, Trotskyites, disillusioned Comintern agents, Chinese Nationalists, and ousted Communists. Many of the actions in China were uncoordinated, unforeseen, and contradictory, and frequently the documents are sufficiently vague that it has been possible to build all sorts of convincing interpretations of these years.

Conrad Brandt, a research fellow of the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard, has suveyed the voluminous literature dealing with this period, interviewed some of the key figures involved, and utilized special collections and private papers. In addition, he has brought to bear upon the task an ability to handle Chinese, Japanese, and Russian as well as usual Western language sources. He has produced a short volume of six highly digested chapters analyzing Moscow's relation to developments in China during the period of the United Front. After an introductory chapter dealing with the theoretical bases for Communist alliance with nationalism in China, Brandt devotes four key chapters to showing the problems and divisions caused by the alliance within both Nationalist and Communist parties. He is at his best in showing how Stalin overestimated his ability to control either the centrist or leftist leaders of the Kuomintang and how doctrine had to be twisted to explain Stalin's failures. Because the book presumes an intimate familiarity with the details of this period in China as well as an awareness of the former interpretations—such as those of Harold Isaacs, M. N. Roy, T'ang Leang-li, Chiang Kai-shek, and Stalin himself—it is likely to prove hard going for the average reader. It is, however, most interesting fare for the student of modern Chinese history.

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Brandt shows how various regimes and leaders in China and the USSR have rewritten the history of this period for later political purposes. His major thesis is that Stalin revealed bull-headed stupidity in assuming that he knew the forces operative in China and could call the turn there. (Brandt does not bring out Stalin's failure to understand class and property relations in China.) He demonstrates the inaccuracy of later interpretations that give Stalin credit for a grand Communist strategy in China. But Brandt also indicates that Trotsky and his supporters, who first attacked the myth of the all-sapient Stalin on the China question, were no more prescient or accurate. He shows Sun Yat-sen not nearly so naïve about the Communists as his critics have asserted, exposes the duplicity of the United Front tactics of the Comintern, and adds new details on aspects of its activities in China in this crowded period.

Brandt himself presents a view of "Maoism" that this reviewer feels is open to serious question. He shows Mao as an archopportunist at the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1923, but he maintains that in a report on the peasant movement in Hunan in 1927 Mao was a consistent heretic in maintaining that the "peasantry could take the place of the working class in the van of a 'proletarian' movement," something Mao did not say at all. This involves an acceptance of the interpretation that Mao gave later to Edgar Snow. Brandt does not point out Mao's addition of the phrase "under the leadership of the Communist Party" in key places in later editions of this work; he does not take adequate note that Mao was talking only about revolution "in the countryside"; nor does he deal with the second part of the Hunan report and the failure of the whole report to treat the crucial question of land confiscation or nationalization. He reports that on May 18, 1925, Stalin hailed a strike wave in progress in Shanghai almost two weeks before it reached its climax of May 30 and at a later date he notes communications functioning between Moscow and China on an almost hourly basis; yet he supports "Maoism" by asserting that Mao, in Shanghai, "could scarcely have seen, let alone studied" the theses of the Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in the space of a fortnight. Such items indicate the extent to which, even after exhaustive study, this period allows wide latitude in interpretation. This is not to say that within the framework he has set for himself Brandt's work is not a contribution—it is! He has researched extensively and uncovered much that is new and valuable.

University of South Carolina RICHARD L. WALKER

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, 1936–1939. By *F. Jay Taylor*. (New York: Bookman Associates-Twayne Publishers. 1956. Pp. 288. $5.00.)

OF all the international problems that mounted from crisis to crisis during the troubled decade of the 1930's, few still remain as controversial, as emotionally

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intense, or as obstinate as the question of the policy of the Western democracies toward the Spanish Civil War. At the time many on both sides of the Atlantic considered the struggle to be far more than a domestic affair and saw large issues involved, ideological and international. In the intervening years, with the wisdom of hindsight added, many more people have lamented the official conduct of the democratic governments as in essence appeasement of the totalitarian powers and thus directly contributory to World War II. The universal desire in the West to avoid war and its expression as isolationism in the United States exerted strong pressures on the governments. Religious and ideological factors bred controversy and obscurity in the public opinion of the democracies.

The great merit of this study is that it examines objectively the nature of American opinion during the war and the political factors that influenced the Roosevelt administration in its formulation of policy. It penetrates the flood of propaganda and presents a careful, thorough, well-documented analysis of the impact of the Spanish conflict on the United States. Succinctly and clearly Professor Taylor relates our neutrality legislation and arms embargo to our denial in practice of the right of the Spanish Republic as a recognized government to buy arms to defend itself against an internal revolution. Today it is hard to remember why we failed to be convinced of the nature of this challenge to collective security from 1936 on, when we had clearly in view the farce of the Nonintervention Committee and the callous flouting of neutrality by Hitler and Mussolini. The author shows the reason for both political and popular acceptance of our continuing embargo and our official attitudes.

Probably the most persistent of the controversies over this civil war is that of its ideological components. In this vexed field the author has made a solid contribution in his treatment of the Catholic position in the United States and the charge of Communist control of the Spanish Republic. His treatment is balanced and judicious and, although one might argue on minor points, he again cuts through the old prejudices and propaganda stereotypes to give a scholarly interpretation and an objective view. Notably in his chapters entitled "The Great Debate" and "A Holy War" he makes a contribution to historical clarity and accounts for the gradual change in American opinion as the Loyalists came to stand out more clearly as republicans rather than communists and as fascist aid became more open and more blatant. The presentation of the Spanish background is a good summary, though the strength of the moderate parties in the Popular Front in 1936 should be indicated more clearly. Also the planes shipped by France at the outbreak of the revolt, it should be noted, had been ordered (and paid for) before the rising of the generals. But on the whole this book by its excellent study of American attitudes goes a long way to answer the question of why the democracies lost this round to the dictators.

Amherst College E. Dwight Salmon

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Ancient and Medieval History

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume IV, LA FONDAZIONE DELL'IMPERO. Part 2, VITA E PENSIERO NELL'ETÀ DELLE GRANDI CONQUISTE. Tome II. By *Gaetano de Sanctis.* [Il Pensiero Storico, 38, VII.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1957. Pp. viii, 125.)

THIS little fascicle of 125 pages probably represents the final contribution from the pen of the great Italian historian, Gaetano de Sanctis. It continues his survey of Roman life and thought in the age of the great conquests (see *AHR,* LX [July, 1955], 867), and under the title "Dal diritto quiritario al diritto pretorio" presents a valuable summary of the development of the private law to the period of the Gracchi. The public law, which is treated elsewhere, and, to a great extent, the criminal law are excluded from this discussion. As we should expect, the five sections on procedure, the family, the will, ownership, and obligations present abundant evidence of the author's wide and precise knowledge of both the theories on the development of the law and the details, both substantive and procedural, of the law itself. But the emphasis is on the historical development in an age when new conditions created by the great conquests, vastly increased and disparate holdings of wealth, a more developed social order, more humane feeling, and a great increase in contact with foreigners and foreign systems continually raised new problems and fresh needs. In each of the sections the author traces concretely how, within the bounds of the traditionalism, consecutiveness, and formalism, characteristic alike of the Roman law and of the Roman mind, new methods were found to meet, with a minimum of legislative action, the challenge of new times. He discovers in the growth of the law an inner dynamism that was lacking in the not unrelated field of the native religion. Thus the aristocratic leadership that created the empire also laid the foundations of the Roman classical law.

In essence these needs were met by supplementing and correcting the rigid forms of the *legis actiones* through the development of the *ius honorarium,* in effect the making of new law through the growth in the hands of the magistrate with *imperium,* and in particular the praetor, of the formulary procedures. In family law practical ways were found of lessening the strict application of the *patria potestas* to sons, and marriages with *manus* became few. The strict application of the law of inheritance was eased to allow succession outside the lines of the ancient formulae, even to admit emancipated sons, to invalidate an *inofficiosum testamentum,* and, under the *Lex Voconia,* to protect the inheritance of the *heres.* No less important and pervasive were the procedures that were needed in these times to protect the ownership and possession of property that had not been acquired by Quiritary right, and those that made the law of obligations more equitable and flexible through the practical abolition of the *nexum,* the rise of more varied and simpler formulae, the growing use of the *syngrapha,* and acceptance of the doctrine of *bona fides.*

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The questions relating to origins may raise more dispute. For the author the family was not the basis of the law of the Roman state, and the absolute *patria potestas* was a secondary development. The minor position of the *gentiles* in the line of intestate succession refutes the view that a union of *gentes* was fundamental for the evolution of the Roman state and the Roman law. The distinction between *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* was not related to that between real and movable property nor to the value of the objects concerned, but referred to that between rustic property in land, and the things connected with it that were important in a primitive rural economy, and other property of less concern in early times. These conceptions, he maintains, have nothing to do with collective ownership or a primitive family sovereignty. The strength of the work lies in its clear presentation of the transitional developments of the third and second centuries before Christ and in the author's position that the nature of these developments resulted concretely from the mentality of the Roman governing class and the social and economic conditions of the time. His sense of historical reality remained vigorous to the end.

Bryn Mawr College T. Robert S. Broughton

LA CIVILISATION MÉROVINGIENNE D'APRÈS LES SÉPULTURES, LES TEXTES ET LE LABORATOIRE. Volume III, LES TECHNIQUES. By *Édouard Salin*. (Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1957. Pp. 311. 2,500 fr.)

In his two earlier volumes (I, *Les idées et les faits;* II, *Les sépultures;* the fourth will be *Les croyances*) Salin has contributed greatly to our archaeological knowledge of Gaul between Clovis and Charles Martel. But since medievalists are accustomed to the testimony of graves and texts, this third installment, which emphasizes laboratory analysis of metals, will provide even greater interest, not only because of its results but because of its relative methodological novelty in the historical field. Microscopic photography of the structure of metals and chemical and spectroscopic investigation add new categories of data for our consideration.

That such metallurgical evidence may be important even for the broadest historical problems is indicated by Salin's conclusion that the Germans were better armed than the legions of Rome, despite the fact that Celtic blacksmiths in Roman Noricum were forging excellent laminated longswords for export northward. The failure of the Romans, until too late, to grasp—literally—the technical superiority of the new weapons available to them and currently used by some of their barbarian auxiliaries, may have been the decisive blunder of the declining empire. As Salin shows, the armament of the Merovingian period is purely Germanic: the Roman equipment could not stand the competition.

Perhaps in reaction against the habit of modern German scholars to assume that all innovation is Teutonic, Salin seems determined that in metallurgy the credit shall go to the Celts. The evidence, some of which he neglects, will not yet

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permit so definite a judgment. B. P. Lozinski has recently noted in *Speculum* (XXXIII [July, 1958], 420) that the Gothic word for "sword," *meki,* is derived from a Slavonic tongue. It was therefore presumably picked up from superior swordmakers during that tribe's sojourn in the Black Sea region during the third and fourth centuries. And C. S. Smith of the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Metals indicates in *Endeavour* (XVI [Oct., 1957], 200) that in nineteenth-century Tibet swords were being produced essentially on the Merovingian pattern of forging. Until advanced techniques of analysis are applied to archaeological materials from all Eurasia, we must be cautious in awarding medals for the invention of the improved armament. Whatever the origins of the misnamed "damascened" longsword, the Germans made it their own, and in the period of the eighth to the ninth century, as Salin shows, Siegen and Solingen were manufacturing them in vast numbers by factory methods (developed in the seventh century to turn out great quantities of cheap jewelry) for sale in the Orient, where they were highly prized.

The book is rich in information entirely new. The skill of Merovingian metallurgists in controlling the zinc content of their brasses within a very narrow range confirms one's suspicion that Gregory of Tours's dismal record of the Frankish court does not provide the sole possible verdict on that age. Moreover, Salin's discussion of the ballistics of the *francisca,* which, since it was both a throwing-axe and one used for chopping, arrived at the perfect compromise between two functional forms, is a revelation of ingenuity.

University of California, Los Angeles LYNN WHITE, JR.

CHURCH, KINGSHIP, AND LAY INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND, 1089–1135. By *Norman F. Cantor.* [Princeton Studies in History, Volume 10.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 349. $6.00.)

IT is stimulating to have the investiture controversy presented as in many ways like other world revolutions that have since then shaped the West's destiny. Here is a painstaking study of what happened in England that casts welcome light on the investiture controversy's Europe-wide stages. Mr. Cantor's thorough coverage of the sources has produced a vivid and at the same time an intelligible story, central in which are the personality of Anselm and the practical necessities that impelled Henry I, unlike his predecessors, to make concessions to the Gregorian reformers.

It seems plain in the context of this story, with the help in particular of a satisfying piece of iconographical argument, that Henry I's concessions in 1100 included with his coronation charter a change of coronation ceremony, from the Anglo-Saxon to the more "Roman" ceremony that certainly was used thereafter in England. What may deserve simultaneous emphasis is how relatively little change this meant, since the earlier ceremony spoke of the king as *ab episcopis et*

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a plebe electus, and the new ceremony continued the anointing with chrism and the conferring of ring and rod.

For related reasons Cantor seems justified in playing down somewhat the importance at the time of the anonymous "York Tractates," most of which were anti-Gregorian. But his marshaling of evidence to show afresh that their author was probably Archbishop Gerard of York is full of interesting points and on the whole persuasive, even though unconvincing on the intricate matter of the textual agreements with the Robert manuscript then located at Rouen. In developing the Gerard hypothesis and throughout the book generally, Cantor's presentation gains strength from its able integration of evidence on the ideological currents with political narrative worked up from chroniclers and documents.

The firmness and clarity with which Cantor argues each case he takes up adds plainly to the value of his work. A notable example is his demonstration that the canonist Ivo of Chartres held views on lay investiture quite different from those of the English compromise of 1107, so that Ivo no longer deserves to be considered the latter's intellectual father. The principle behind the compromise had instead developed in the practice of the English *Curia Regis.* It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Henry I won out in actual fact, and that the effort of Anselm and Paschal II to overthrow the church-state system erected by William the Conqueror and Lanfranc proved by 1135 a failure—except that the monarchy had had to relinquish its claim to sacred authority and develop instead along secular and professional lines.

Carnegie Institute of Technology PAUL L. WARD

THE SCHOLASTIC ANALYSIS OF USURY. By *John T. Noonan, Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 432. $9.00.)

THE author does not wait long to reveal his bias. This is plain for all to see in his preliminary survey of the teachings of the theologians and jurists of the High and Later Middle Ages, 1150–1450. Intent on uncovering anticipations of revisionist views, he labors every turn of phrase which might conceivably be put into play to prove the readiness of the founding fathers of scholasticism to justify pure interest on a loan.

Mr. Noonan comes into his own when he approaches Conrad Summenhart (1462–1511) and his successors in the Tübingen school. In Noonan's pages the revolution launched by Conrad in the understanding of the problem of usury is no less than Copernican. To see how much more latitude Noonan exhibits than even the most laissez faire writer of the past, one has only to compare his account of the controversy over the triple contract with that of W. J. (repeatedly called William E.) Ashley and Father James Brodrick (here rebaptized "Broderick").

In Part II of the book, when Noonan takes leave of the Middle Ages, he is in his native element. Indeed, his summaries of the teachings of the trio of

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great Jesuit masters—Molina, Lessius, and De Lugo—represent something of an advance over previous writings. These pages, however, are also marred at every turn by his unconcealed and apparently irreconcilable aversion to those who allowed the pure gold of analysis to be debased by the admixture of irrelevant considerations of tradition, piety, or Christian charity. He is deaf to Bossuet's pleas against the Calvinist "transvaluation of values."

Noonan's account of the development of the post-Tridentine period dare not be read without continuous reference to the original sources and major modern studies, notably A. M. Knoll, J. Höffner, and some pages by the undersigned. Noonan notwithstanding, it is simply not the case that Molina, Lessius, and De Lugo represented the unequivocal voice of the Church Universal, however much in retrospect they may now appear to have been the "wave of the future." It was more than feeble-minded anxieties that kept traditionalists like Ballerini and Concina from scrapping the medieval teachings. Rome itself sought with all the resources at its command to restrain the revisionist excesses of the transalpine Jesuits.

It was all to no avail. The axis of trade and power had shifted. Might and main were no longer on Rome's side. The dominant theologians of the lands beyond the Alps were entranced by probabilist dialects. Bulls and encyclical letters not to their liking were brushed aside as "not having been received" or having been "insufficiently promulgated." Noonan's neglect to perceive or mention the crisis of the Church over the very foundations of moral theology and its special agony over the problem of usury disfigures all of Part II.

It is obvious that the Roman Church has never felt free to adopt the insouciant tones of Noonan; the Bulls of Pius V, Sixtus V, the ambiguous *Vix pervenit* (1745) of Benedict XIV, and the succession of cryptic decrees of the Apostolic Penitentary early in the nineteenth century speak a language remote from his. To this day the Church has not dared to assert the propositions that Noonan so blithely assumes. The undersigned cannot conceive that the magisterium will ever clearly countenance so complete a departure from its historic position as Noonan here so blandly imputes to it.

Hofstra College BENJAMIN N. NELSON

Modern European History

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume II, THE REFORMATION, 1520–1559. Edited by *G. R. Elton*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 685. $7.50.)

THE second volume of *The New Cambridge Modern History* is evidence of the fact that multiple authorship can serve a useful purpose when a work is thoughtfully planned and well written by recognized authorities in their respec-

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tive fields. G. R. Elton, the editor as well as the author of two of the chapters of *The Reformation, 1520–1559,* provides us with an introduction in which he prepares the background for all the topics discussed and draws these together into a logical coherence not always evinced in volumes of this kind. For him the word "Reformation" refers to a significant and self-contained period of history marked primarily by the disruption of Western Christendom, the rise of religious diversity, growing territorial control over the churches, increasing secularization, and the ascendancy of Europe in world affairs. Although he wonders whether economic, social, and cultural factors merit primacy in the study of history, he recognizes their importance as aids to understanding the past. Because he believes that the intellectual leaders of the Reformation looked backward rather than forward, he thinks it idle to consider the Reformation as the beginning of modern history, itself an "uncertain term."

The decline of interest in predominantly political history since the publication of the second volume of the first *Cambridge Modern History* about fifty years ago is reflected in the organization of this new one. Nearly one-half of the twenty chapters, written by eighteen different authors, are new and a number of these are treated topically rather than along national lines. The volume begins with a chapter on the economic changes in agriculture, trade, and industry, written by Friedrich Lütge of the University of Munich and S. T. Bindoff of the University of London. It is gratifying to note that on the whole the great quantities of new materials uncovered by recent research have been incorporated in the chapter. Yet some historians will regret that neither here nor elsewhere is there a discussion of the whole question of business ethics raised by Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and R. H. Tawney. The word "usury" appears only once and then only incidentally.

The religious history of the period receives a fair proportion of the 614 pages of text and constitutes the best part of the book. E. G. Rupp's twenty-five pages on Luther's life and career to 1529 is a brilliant summary embodying the most important contributions made by Luther scholars during the past half century. His history of the Reformation in Switzerland and southern Germany includes a solid section on the movement in Strasburg, an account too frequently missing in histories of the period. Ernest A. Payne's section on the Anabaptists in the same chapter shows the results of the great amount of research done by European and American scholars in presenting an unprejudiced story of the entire left-wing movement of the period. A fresh treatment of the Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic by N. K. Andersen is followed by a chapter on "The Reformation in Difficulties" in which Ernst Bizer carries the Reformation in Germany down to 1555, R. R. Betts provides a new topical account of the religious history of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, and F. C. Spooner covers the history of French Protestantism to the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. The treatments of the Reformation in Germany, France, and England are along conventional lines, as

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is a chapter on the new religious orders. The most original interpretation is the chapter on "Italy and the Papacy" by Delio Cantimori. It not only provides a fresh look at the religious currents within Italian Catholicism but also opens up fruitful areas for further research.

Although the political accounts are not as detailed as those in the first edition, they include a number of new chapters that reflect our increasing interests in Russia, Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and the expansion of Europe. The constitutional development and the political thought of Western and Eastern Europe receive excellent treatment in two chapters. A solid chapter on "Armies, Navies, and the Art of War" by J. R. Hale supplements his excellent essay on international relations in the volume on the Renaissance.

The intellectual and cultural history of Europe is presented under three headings in two chapters, "Literature: the Printed Book," "Science," and "Schools and Universities," treatments that contain much useful information. It is surprising, however, that Erasmus receives only occasional and incidental mention, despite the fact that his contributions were scarcely touched upon in the volume on the Renaissance. Moreover, many will find it difficult to agree with the editor that "an age whose most distinctive output consists of Protestant hymns is not primarily one of artistic distinction." Since the important developments in music in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries had not been discussed in the previous volume, they should have been included in this one.

Because of the mounting costs of printing, one should not be too critical of the absence of well-placed maps. There seems to be no good reason, however, for the absence of brief annotated bibliographies containing the most significant recent literature on each topic. Despite this omission, the volume undoubtedly will serve widely as a work of reference as well as a thoughtful narrative account of the Reformation.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

A HISTORY OF MAGIC AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE. Volumes VII and VIII, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Lynn Thorndike.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 695; viii, 808. $10.00; $10.00.)

WITH these two compendious volumes Professor Lynn Thorndike has brought to a close the massive survey of magic and science at which he had been at work during the greater part of his distinguished career. It is a monument to his scholarly perseverance, a formidable achievement; and few men can have pursued more unswervingly a more tantalizing theme. When the first volume of his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* appeared in 1923, covering the period from Pliny the Elder to the end of the thirteenth century, Thorndike had already been exploring the subject for twenty years. Twenty more years, or nearly that, and five more substantial green-bound tomes, were required to bring the story

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to the end of the sixteenth century. Now with these two concluding volumes, covering the great formative century of our modern science, Whitehead's "century of genius," Thorndike has reached the final proving ground of his fundamental thesis.

This thesis can be best stated in his own words: that "magic and experimental science have been connected in their development; that magicians were perhaps the first to experiment; and that the history of both magic and experimental science can be better understood by studying them together." By "magic" Thorndike does not mean Sir James Frazer's operative art, but a set of ideals, a way of looking at the world, a learned magic that includes all varieties of occultism, superstition, and systematized human credulity; astrology was its most refined and sophisticated manifestation. Thorndike's term "experimental science" is equally elastic and seems to include almost any inquiry into the natural world that is distinguishable from "occult science" and is based to some degree upon reason, observation, and experience.

It is hardly surprising that one can easily find connections, overlappings, and penetrations between these two spheres, more especially during the centuries between Pliny and Kepler when the study of nature and magic as Thorndike defines it were often, if by no means invariably and inextricably, intertwined.

From Pliny's time magical thinking, according to the Thorndike view, presided over and nurtured man's early exploration of nature; tuned his mind to certain regularities in the behavior of natural things; and led him to a probing of natural phenomena by the method of direct intervention and experiment, as in alchemy. It was a sort of chrysalis which could be, and eventually was, cast off in the fullness of time. But at the very beginning of his inquiry, it should be pointed out, Thorndike loaded the dice very heavily in favor of his thesis by accepting two very questionable viewpoints: he dismissed the rationalistic and mathematical accomplishment of the Greeks in science, especially during the Hellenistic Age; and he refused to admit that the centuries of Roman domination, especially in the West, brought a precipitate decline in genuine scientific activity. He therefore did not perceive that the magic and occultism that pervaded the Roman world might well have been a characteristic symptom of scientific decline and decadence.

It is not, I hope, unfair to Thorndike thus to review his thesis in the light of what he wrote nearly forty years ago, for I cannot find that he has altered it in any fundamental respect. He has merely carried the story of the interlocking development of science and magic to its final dramatic episode, yet, it seems to me, without in any way accounting for the emergence of a rationalistic science and its emancipation from the thralldom of the magical world view.

It was surely not Thorndike's intention to give a measured account of the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century, and it would be regrettable if such were taken to be the case. He is far more interested in, and gives vastly

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more space to, the prevalent if fast-fading occultism and credulity of the seventeenth century than to science and to the accomplishments of those men of genius who struggled to extricate themselves from the mire of the magical tradition. He gives no balanced picture, and he clearly expects the reader to go elsewhere to see in the round such great figures as Galileo, Harvey, Boyle, Huygens, and Newton. If he treats these men at considerable length, it is chiefly to argue that they too did not wholly escape the all-pervasive influences of their age. Yet even when this is said, his account of seventeenth-century science could be extremely misleading to the unwary. Considering the encyclopedic character of this work, there are some startling omissions: Leibniz is barely mentioned; the few lines devoted to Malpighi refer to his work on plants but not to his discovery of the capillaries. While Athanasius Kircher gets half a chapter and many other references, two lines only are given to Pascal. These are not trivial oversights. Yet perhaps the most serious gap is the absence of any suggestion that the mathematical developments of the century—the work of Vieta, Cavalieri, Fermat, Wallis, and others—may have had something to do with the emergence of a new physical science. As in his previous volumes, Thorndike displays little interest in the role that mathematics, logical analysis, philosophic criticism, and the technical tradition may have played in the growth of science. Yet it is precisely here that one might look to learn why occultism vanished from science by the end of this century, to find a haven among the cranks and charlatans.

It was part of Thorndike's aim to show, as other scholars have done in narrower compass, just how this magical mode of thought left here or there a fruitful residue in the theories and beliefs of some of these pioneer scientists. In the cases of Kepler and even Harvey the author has little difficulty in making his point, and his chapter on Francis Bacon is certainly very suggestive. But some of his other accounts verge on caricature. Robert Boyle ought not be judged by the numerous examples of innocent credulity Thorndike has collected from the English scientist's voluminous writings. Likewise, Newton's fascination with chemistry and alchemy scarcely warrants an uncritical acceptance of Lord Keynes's overdrawn portrait of him as the "last of the magicians." Indeed, Thorndike finds himself in real difficulty when trying to show magical traits in such tough-minded worthies as Galileo and Huygens and Newton himself. He is here forced to the odd expedient of citing errors (such as Galileo's theory of the tides which, ironically enough, involved a rejection of the theory of lunar influences), pardonable failures to anticipate later discoveries, evidences of a penchant for secrecy (e.g., in the practice of using anagrams to record yet conceal scientific discoveries), and a tendency to personify nature. The fact that writers like Galileo and Newton personified nature and referred to her "marvels" and "wonders" is further evidence to Thorndike that science had not freed itself from the magical habit of thought. Yet this personification and this expressed wonderment was in part mere rhetoric, mere metaphor, as it is today. It will be a sad day when

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scientists lose their sense of wonder and mystery at nature's contrivances, the order of the universe, and what Walter B. Cannon called the "wisdom of the body." There is, as Sir Charles Sherrington wrote in a well-known book, a profound difference between the real mysteries of nature and those that in fact are not there; and this eminent modern physiologist added a sentence that readers of Thorndike could well ponder: "The mystery of Nature needs no superstition."

Fortunately the value of these two profoundly learned volumes does not rest on what Thorndike says about seventeenth-century science *proprement dite*. It is irrelevant, too, that his fundamental thesis contributes little or nothing to our understanding of the emerging modern mathematico-experimental science. For he has provided an exhaustive and indispensable work of reference to the seamy, and perhaps more characteristic, side of the century of genius. He has corrected, possibly overcorrected, our vision of a century we have been so prone to praise as an age of reason; he has exposed a vast underworld of superstition, flushed forth a mighty army of forgotten eccentrics, and, by the sheer weight of his citations from long-neglected books, has shown the extent to which magical ideas, conservatism, and gullibility flourished in respectable quarters. The century of genius was also, and perhaps more typically, the century of its Rosy Cross and of M. d'Astarac.

Against this background the achievement of the great seventeenth-century scientists appears all the more remarkable. How did they decide what to believe? A reading of this extraordinary record of human confusion throws into sharp relief how important it had become to establish canons of choice and judgment, ways of distinguishing the true from the fabulous, of knowing what to accept and what to reject. In the light of Thorndike's work the birth of critical philosophy, the developments in mathematics, and the seventeenth-century preoccupation with methodology should take on an even greater importance for the historian of scientific thought.

Cornell University HENRY GUERLAC

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume III, FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, *C.* 1500–*C.* 1750. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall,* and *Trevor I. Williams.* Assisted by *Y. Peel* and *J. R. Petty.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 766, 32 plates. $26.90, £8 8*s*.)

By the time this five-volume enterprise is concluded, we shall have what was badly needed, something of a modern equivalent to Pliny. In the preface to Volume II the editors expected to provide "a moderately comprehensive survey." With the present volume that hope faces its first serious challenge. The material is organized only on a first level, and cries out for an ampler and more methodic treatment. But could this be provided today, even by making the opus ten times

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as big? The main difficulty is that we simply do not have, from the Renaissance to the present, the provision of monographic studies that will allow for adequate treatment. Thus excellent pieces may be rendered obsolete even before publication, as happened to Professor Usher's careful article on "Machines and Mechanisms," a whole section of which is invalidated by the recent appearance of Robert S. Woodbury's *History of the Gear-Cutting Machine.* The true form of such an enterprise, at the present state of the art, would probably have been a *Reallexikon,* preceded by many years of preparation. With a work conceived on the present plan we are not out of the woods. We cannot find, in fact, our way among the trees, although an excellent synthetic sketch is attempted in the epilogue by A. R. Hall, who is among the best specialists of the younger generation.

It occurred to us to check for a couple of important devices that were born in the seventeenth century; one was the thermal engine, and the other the digital computer. True enough, under the name of Papin we find the pressure cooker and the vacuum pump, but not a word concerning his famous steam engine, which marks a date in more ways than one since it occasioned the first insurrection of labor against mechanized innovation. Hence there is not a word about Papin's important correspondence with Huygens, who gave him the idea, nor, of course, any mention of Huygens' previous experiments with a gunpowder engine, which provided the first working type of what was to be the Newcomen machine. One may discern an editorial decision here, to shift all that has to do with prime movers to the next volume and to the Industrial Revolution. But then, what of Descartes' and Huygens' avowed intention of building up a physics capable of delivering new sources of power? While the varied contributions of, say, Hooke and Boyle are amply noted, Descartes' name occurs only twice apropos of lenses.

One will look, then, for a device which definitely had its *floruit* in the seventeenth century, and underwent no marked progress thereafter until its principles were again applied in our age of electronics, in the digital computer. We find only "in the XVII century, geared calculating machines were invented by Pascal and others." Would that "others" dispose of Leibniz? In some alarm, one searches for the name of Leibniz in the index and finds that it is not there. One runs into such names as that of James I, surely a great statesman and scholar but hardly a conspicuous technologist, for his "Counterblast to Tobacco," and of William III for window sashes. But of Leibniz, not a word. This disposes at once of all of Leibniz' contributions in many fields: from aeronautics (he invented the name), to acoustics, optical instruments, clockworks and planetariums, navigation, hydrography, canals, steering devices, carriages, wheels, wheel bearings, and machine tools. It disposes no less of his correspondence on prime movers with Huygens and Papin, which Gerland published in 1881. This is bound to leave a considerable gap. Concerning pumps alone there are three times as many devices in Leibniz (including his idea of a mercury pump) as are mentioned

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in the relevant sections of this volume. Yet Leibniz was director of mines and made his devices work. The casual treatment inflicted on the calculating machine is all the more striking in that, by putting it together with the punched card brought in by weavers and with Descartes' theories of coding (unmentioned), we could survey the origins of an idea which has become so overwhelmingly important in our times.

Now we grant that a one-volume survey of two centuries cannot be complete. But systematic exclusions like these are bound to negate a fundamental feature and novelty of the seventeenth century, which was the intervention of first-rate scientific minds in technological problems. If the new underlying struggle between government projects and the needs of basic science took the shape that has become familiar to us today, an essential pattern was established then that cannot be overlooked or blithely postponed to the period after 1750, which had characteristics much different from those of the present.

Another systematic error, if minor, occurs in the section on chemistry, which relies, as did Volume II, too much on chemically implausible interpretations of the ambiguous communications of Theophilus Presbyter. There is also some misspelling of Italian names. Cellini never spoke of *bracchia* as a measure of length, nor are there places called Commachio and Novarra. When all is said, however, this history remains an impressive performance, which fulfills the needs of contemporary culture for another generation while the materials are being readied for a more systematic undertaking.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume V, THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, *C.* 1850–*C.* 1900. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall,* and *Trevor I. Williams.* Assisted by *Y. Peel, J. R. Petty,* and *M. Reeve.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxviii, 888, 44 plates. $26.90, £8 8*s.*)

WITH this installment a great adventure planned eight years ago reaches journey's end. What a journey, from "Early Times" and "The Old Stone Age" to the end of last century! And what a travel tale, told in 4,200 pages, nearly 2,500 text pictures, and two hundred half tone plates! And what a pace of publication! Anyone who has been involved in a cooperative project will certainly marvel at the ability of the editors and of the Oxford University Press to turn out these five massive books in five years.

The final volume covers only fifty years. Its editors gave very cogent reasons for not coming beyond about 1900: too much space would be needed; recent developments cannot be described in a relatively nontechnical manner; and the choice of topics would involve a "semi-prophetic selection" of the things deemed most significant. Two topics all-important for today are specifically put

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aside: first, "the emergence of the United States and Russia in the forefront of technology [which] indeed signalizes a leap from one order of magnitude in production to another"; and second, modern physics, which began about 1900 and has ushered in an era where "for the first time abstract scientific thought, carried on without concern for its practical consequences in the life of man, was to offer as an incidental reward a mastery of natural resources totally different in kind and in scale from anything contemplated in the older technology grown from remote empirical roots."

The outstanding theme of the volume is the importance of applied science. Since this is most evident in the newer industries, chemicals and electricity are given nearly a sixth of the text; but few of the older industries remained unaffected. In all cases, however, the dependence of industry on science was still "somewhat fortuitous. . . . The empirical element remained large, and progress was achieved rather through the accumulated experience of craftsmen, the enterprise of management, and the skill of individual designers, than through scientific insight. . . . Theory might still follow, rather than precede, a major technological accomplishment." Even where it did come first, as in the manufacture of soda, it might take over half a century to reach perfect industrial application. If the first half of the century needed two generations of mechanical engineers to make machines that would function smoothly and efficiently, the second half discovered that almost as much time must elapse before it could "translate formulae into plant."

The book's pattern remains unchanged. Part I, labeled "Primary Production," contains a masterly concise survey by G. E. Fussell of food production in the Old World and the New, in the tropics as well as in the temperate zones; a lucid account of the management, processing, and preservation of foodstuffs; and good stories of how cheap steel, abundant nonferrous metals, and petroleum products became available. Part II deals with "Prime Movers"—stationary, marine, and internal combustion. Parts III and IV introduce the electrical and chemical industries, strangely omitting hydroelectricity but doing full justice to the dyestuffs, new explosives, and "fine chemicals." Part V on "Transport" is solid but stodgy on railways, fascinating on shipbuilding, illuminating on early flying, and nostalgic on early bicycles and motor vehicles. The last section is written by the "Research Historian, Veteran Car Club of Great Britain." Part VI is concerned with "Civil Engineering," including the growing use of iron, steel, and concrete in buildings, the heroic trials and triumphs of the great bridgebuilders and tunnel cutters, and the conversion of city water supplies from "little more than a crude craft" in 1850 to a science in 1900. Part VII on "Manufactures" is full of such good things as the increasing ability of textile, knitting, and sewing equipment to provide better and cheaper clothes, knitwear, carpets, draperies, and lace; the prolonged heartbreaking struggle to evolve machines for typefounding, typesetting, and rapid printing, with the cellars of the London *Times* choked

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full of discarded failures; the coming of mass production in glassware; and the infancy of photography, movies, and the rubber industry.

The final part gives us three backward glances from "The Threshold of the Twentieth Century." The Cambridge economic historian Charles Wilson examines the relations between technology and industrial organization, viewing them chiefly as "a set of variations on the theme of specialization." Sir Alexander Fleck, chairman of the firm (Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.) which has financed the whole work, surveys "social consequences" in terms of population growth, migration, education, labor and living conditions, the arts, political and philosophical trends, and the changing distribution of power in society. Sir Eric Ashby, president of Queen's University, Belfast, in discussing "Education for an Age of Technology," deals with Britain's tardy recognition that its day as the world's workshop and industrial schoolmaster was approaching twilight; the panics created by revelations of other nations' competitive strength; and the attention given to general, technical, and scientific education during the last third or quarter of the century. This story has often been told, but as one rereads its record of such shocks to British complacency as the failure to win more than a bare dozen awards at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, the recriminations and proposals for "shock programs," the evidence of educational backwardness put before select committees and royal commissions, and the pigeonholing of many recommendations made to Parliament, one seems to recall having been through this experience all over again in another land during the last two years. This is quite natural, for as every chapter in these five volumes makes clear, "there is no finality in technology" and no chosen people to monopolize it.

Pennsylvania State University HERBERT HEATON

EUROPE AND THE EUROPEANS: AN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION. By *Max Beloff*. With an introduction by *Denis de Rougemont*. [A report prepared at the request of the Council of Europe.] (London: Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. xix, 288. 25*s*.)

AT the invitation of the Council of Europe, a European round table met at Rome in October, 1953, to examine the problems of European unity. A study group with a different personnel met at Strasbourg in March, 1956, to pursue this subject. At both meetings the participants were distinguished figures from various European countries outside the Iron Curtain. This book is not exactly a report of the discussions either at Rome or at Strasbourg, though Professor Beloff has drawn freely from the records of both meetings. It is rather a summary of the many facets of the great central problem that led to the calling together of the two groups, in which the author has felt free to range widely for his materials in varied sources, mostly historical.

It is a book essential to all interested in the big cultural and political prob-

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lems of the world today. Beloff has done a remarkable job of suggestive compression—so good that his book may well prove useful as a kind of student's introductory manual to the study of Europe and its place in the world today—though clearly it was not designed for such a purpose. Notably the book lacks a good succinct list of suggested readings, yet in the footnotes there are many useful references. Beloff begins with a chapter on definition—just what is Europe?—and the book is organized topically: historical foundations, economics and politics, the cultural heritage, the "tasks" ahead, political, economic, scientific, cultural, and a brief concluding chapter, "Myth and Reality in the European Idea," a chapter in which Beloff's training as a historian comes out positively in his cautious realism, negatively in his rejection of impatient idealism and mystical notions of a European unity already existing, awaiting only a few more conferences to emerge into this world of sense experience. But the whole study is in fact good history, not publicity, not even a tract for the times.

An introduction by Denis de Rougemont, who knows a great deal of history indeed, but is more—or less—than a professional academic historian, gives to us historians an added interest in this book. For M. de Rougemont is clearly put out by, a bit ironical toward, Beloff's professional caution, his trained judicial sobriety, his avoidance of the heights and the depths of humanly conceivable landscapes of the mind. Beloff writes clearly and well, but with a deliberate dryness, with only a subdued hint of irony—as in his choice of quotations from Professor Toynbee, one of the participants in the colloquy at Rome—without epigram, without very much exposing either his heart or his head. De Rougemont is lively, epigrammatic, ironical, hopeful, disillusioned, and very clearly on the side of the angels, all in a few paragraphs. *Le style, c'est l'homme?* No doubt, but at one more remove, *le métier, c'est le style.*

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

THE UNITING OF EUROPE: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FORCES, 1950–1957. By *Ernst B. Haas.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 552. $8.00.)

THE stated purpose of this book is to dissect the "integration process" in its contemporary European setting and "to advance generalizations" about the manner in which "political communities are formed among sovereign States." As a case study, the author has chosen the European Coal and Steel Community during the first five years of its activity and attempts to establish the degree to which its creation reflected and then evoked "European" as distinguished from "national" responses among selected elites (political parties, labor organizations, trade associations) of the member states. He likewise seeks to measure the extent of the Community's influence in developing habits of quasi-federal conduct among

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the member states as well as the degree of its integrating "spill-over" into areas beyond its jurisdictional authority.

The results represent a significant contribution to the growing literature on European integration, particularly on the Coal and Steel Community. But one is frankly disappointed, after the elaborate and somewhat pedantic formulation of the testing methods subsequently employed in "dissecting" the processes of integration, to see what little fruit they yield in the way of clarifying those processes or of providing fresh and illuminating generalizations on the manner of forming political communities among sovereign states. This book's real value should not, therefore, be measured in terms of the objectives that the author set for himself but in certain by-products of his effort: in the analysis of the institutions of the Community and the interplay of national and supranational pressures among them; and in the changing attitudes toward the Community of the leading political parties, trade associations, and labor organizations in the member states. The contribution in respect to both is important.

It is unfortunate that the author's "precise yardstick" of measurement and analysis exercised so much tyranny over his treatment of the subject. He felt obliged first to describe the Coal and Steel Community in its essential substance and then later to apply his tests of the "integrative processes" as well as of the "federal" and "supranational" elements within them to the states forming part of the Community and then to the Community as a whole. This results in overlapping and duplication which, taken together with the author's somewhat ponderous literary style, make for dull reading without really adding content to the argument. Yet if one is patient enough to endure to the end, he will be rewarded.

The task of assembling and digesting information on the attitudes and reactions of political parties, trade associations, and labor unions in each of the six countries that are members of the Coal and Steel Community and then of relating them to that Community's activities is a truly formidable one. On the whole, the author has performed this task commendably. Only in the case of Italy does one have the feeling that he failed to explore the literature on the subject, a feeling that is borne out by the lacunae in the bibliography no less than by sometimes loose and inaccurate statements of fact.

Bologna, Italy C. Grove Haines

THE ART OF NAVIGATION IN ENGLAND IN ELIZABETHAN AND EARLY STUART TIMES. By *D. W. Waters*. With a foreword by *Admiral of the Fleet the Earl Mountbatten of Burma*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxix, 696. $12.50.)

It is the thesis of Lieutenant Commander David Watkins Waters, RN (retired), the author of this remarkable book, that in the period of less than a century between about 1550 and 1630 the English appropriated the best information

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then available as to the navigation of ships on long, deep-water voyages, and that further they developed this knowledge to a degree of accuracy and completeness unmatched by other seafaring peoples of the day. Economic and political changes at the beginning of the Elizabethan era forced the English to take an interest in the long-distance trade routes to America and the East Indies that had been opened by the Portugese and the Spaniards. By learning all they could, especially from Spain, and by employing Spanish, Portugese, French, and Dutch pilots, the English brought themselves abreast of the best seafaring practice of the day. Then a series of scholars and sailors, supported by the interest and financial backing of gentlemen and merchants ashore, went on to develop navigational instruments, charts, sailing directions, and manuals, and to apply mathematics to the science of navigation to a degree hitherto unknown.

In this book Mr. Waters provides a lucid and thoughtful account of the economic and political background before which these advances were made. The important voyages of English seafarers receive full consideration. The author gives careful attention to the state of knowledge at the beginning of his period, and follows the development of pilotage, navigation, cartography, the training of navigators, naval architecture, the lighting and buoying of the English coasts, and a host of other related matters through the eighty-odd year period of his study. This adds up to a first-rate piece of intellectual history with the relationships between the particular subject in hand and the general stream of knowledge clearly shown.

Waters brings to this study the training of a professional sailor as well as a thorough command of the historian's method. After a career as an officer in the Royal Navy from 1929 until 1950, he has continued since his retirement to be a member of the Historical Section of the Navy Staff. The reader may find that the accounts of the mathematical side of the subject are rather formidable going, but this will be overbalanced by the satisfaction of having a book in which thoroughness is not slighted in the interests of popularity. In general, the organization of the book is excellent and the style clear and lively. In addition to its five hundred pages of text, the book has thirty-three appendixes and a thirty-one-page bibliography. It is handsomely and intelligently illustrated by eighty-seven plates and forty-three diagrams.

This is a very important book. It sheds light on a host of facets of maritime history in a crucial period. Further, it adds significantly to the intellectual history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Pomona College JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

ROBERT BOYLE AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHEMISTRY. By *Marie Boas*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 239. $5.50.)

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As the title promises, Miss Boas' book sets itself a dual purpose, a reconsideration of Robert Boyle's chemical work, and a reconsideration of the history of chemistry in the seventeenth century. It is her achievement that in both cases she not only reaches a fundamentally new position but justifies it conclusively.

In the case of Boyle her first task is to remove him from a rather shaky pedestal. Brother of the Earl of Cork he may have been; father of chemistry he was not. Miss Boas demonstrates that the famous definition of an element is no more than a repetition of the conception standard among the "chemists" of the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, Boyle states the definition of an element only to deny that elements thus defined exist. But the discussion of Boyle's chemical work builds a new foundation for his reputation. He brought chemical theory within the boundaries of respectable natural philosophy, and by intelligent experimentation and brilliant technique did much to prepare for the chemical triumphs of the eighteenth century. Boyle emerges from the book not with faded laurels but with enhanced stature. On the basis of essentially new evidence Miss Boas shows that he was the century's most original thinker in the field of chemistry. If he did not create in chemistry a synthesis equivalent to Newton's in physics—if he was not, that is to say, Lavoisier—his work pointed chemistry toward the goal attained in Lavoisier's principles.

In assessing seventeenth-century chemistry Miss Boas is concerned to refute the notion of the delayed revolution that left chemistry a century behind physics in development. Again she has proved her case, demonstrating that the Aristotelian and spagyrical conception of elements had been virtually destroyed by the end of the century. If no satisfactory theory had been elaborated to replace the old, at least the ground had been cleared, and chemists, led by Boyle, had begun to ask the questions that were in the end to be answered by Lavoisier. Chemistry then was not isolated from the advance of the other natural sciences; by examining seventeenth-century chemistry in the light of its own problems instead of judging it by the achievements of the eighteenth century, Miss Boas has justified its inclusion in the scientific "revolution."

In her bibliography Miss Boas notes, perhaps with excessive (if unspoken) animosity toward L. T. More, that there is no adequate biography of Boyle. For few men has biography been so nearly equivalent to intellectual history as for Robert Boyle, whose outward life was only the calm material setting for his intellectual occupations. Although she has not undertaken to write a biography and has excluded important areas of Boyle's thought by the definition of her topic, Miss Boas has penetrated further into the quondam father of chemistry than any of his biographers. Surely her book is destined to take its place at the head of Boyle studies.

Grinnell College RICHARD S. WESTFALL

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BUSINESS AND POLITICS UNDER JAMES I: LIONEL CRANFIELD AS MERCHANT AND MINISTER. By *R. H. Tawney.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 324. $7.50.)

COMPLEMENTING Mr. Lawrence Stone's recent portrait of an Elizabethan financier, Horatio Palavicino, Professor R. H. Tawney has now limned for us the economic, political, and moral physiognomy of a great Jacobean businessman and public official. Tawney tells the story of Lionel Cranfield of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, who scaled the heights and became Lord Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex, only to be thrust into political oblivion by the one subject who had climbed higher than he—the Duke of Buckingham. Through Cranfield's own papers and through the varied sources of early seventeenth-century history which he so insouciantly commands, Tawney establishes his merchant in the intricate milieu of the international cloth trade and then traces his dealings with the government as "a city man" interested in customs-farming and traffic in crown lands. He follows the track of his stubborn, irrascible protagonist as Cranfield enters the service of the crown. There the city merchant tramples whole legions of curial vermin in one office after another in his single-minded effort to bring order and efficiency into the royal revenues, and get some profit for the king out of them. And then, in 1624, the industrious and more or less honest city ant is kicked to political bits by the horde of court grasshoppers, led by grasshopper-in-chief Buckingham, whose fun and games he inconsiderately disturbed by threatening the flow of provender in the form of pensions and graft.

Never has Tawney dealt more felicitously with a historical subject—or rather with a whole array of historical subjects, for a career like Cranfield's drives a scholar with Tawney's itch to get to the heart of things into a dozen probing investigations in which the facts are not easily found and, once discovered, not easily explained. The structure and ramifications of the commercial network in Germany, the modes of payment in international trade, the pros and cons of farming the customs, the *modi operandi* of marketing crown land, of the Court of Wards, of the King's Wardrobe, of the Treasury—these are but a sampling of difficult matters that Cranfield's activities require Tawney to expound. And through them all, through the perplexing and ambiguous terrain of cosmopolitan commerce as through the Serbonian bog of Jacobean administrative malpractice, Tawney moves with sure-footed grace.

Business and Politics under James I is a joy to read for another reason. In much of Tawney's historical work it has been hard to avoid the feeling that an extraordinarily rich and exuberant style was occasionally being requisitioned to the service of a specialized *odium economicum,* and that some of his most brilliant literary improvisations overlaid—not quite revealing, not quite concealing—a theoretical framework of history, the prosaic exposition of which might have

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been greeted with considerable reserve. But in his latest book the theoretical framework is practically nonexistent and the economic odium is dealt about so generously and so evenhandedly as to carry with it no polemic overtones. In such circumstances Tawney stands clear as one of the great humorists of the historical profession as in one lapidary phrase after another he puts the men and things of the Jacobean age in their place. As a merchant Cranfield is "all for speculations providing they are certainties." The activities of his crony Arthur Ingram in connection with the royal revenues provided him "with the technical equipment of gamekeeper and poacher in one." Rival concessionaires, seeking the great farm of the Customs, engage in "ritual teeth-gnashing" before settling down and making a deal with one another. James I, a "parvenu from hyperborean squalor [,] found the milk and honey of his new domain too much for his non [*sic*] too steady head." And the gains that accrued to a consortium, including Cranfield, that had purchased the right to confer six knighthoods, are "the profits of converting grubs into butterflies." These are but a sampling of Tawney's superb demonstration that history can be very serious without being at all solemn.

Washington University J. H. Hexter

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH CRIMINAL LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION FROM 1750. Volume II, THE CLASH BETWEEN PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW; Volume III, CROSS-CURRENTS IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE REFORM OF THE POLICE. By *Leon Radzinowicz*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xvii, 751; xvii, 688. $15.00 each.)

The first volume of this work already bore unmistakable signs that there was much more to come. The two volumes listed above amply fulfill its promise, and the end is not yet. Their contents respond accurately to the subtitles of the volumes, but the reader is yet to receive the "History of English Criminal Law" that the general title to the work leads him to expect. What he already has, however, should make him take patience and regard these massive volumes as mere preliminaries to the major theme. In any case they are ample, leisurely, richly documented, and of great interest.

The clash of public and private endeavors to provide some sort of criminal enforcement can be traced in the offers of pardons to accomplices in return for their evidence, the offers of rewards by victims (and their insurers), the use of common informers, the compounding of felonies, the organization of thieves and their "fences" and their "flash" houses, and the organization of the public itself in the rudimentary police systems dating from the Middle Ages, or the more recent creations of local residents, or of those interested in particular kinds of business (such as the shippers concerned with the West Indies, who were active in the police of the river). The change from private enterprise to public

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control is therefore a major theme; but under either system the collusion between the criminal and the police was an almost insoluble problem. Opportunities for collusion were further provided by the spate of statutes upon Sabbath-keeping, profanity and other "moral" questions. These severely strained the nascent police system; political philosophers even went further, and brought the whole idea of "police" into question as being French and repugnant to the spirit of English and liberal institutions. Thus Volume II is much concerned with the seamy side of life, and Volume III with the word and the institution of "police" and with the contributions of the Fieldings, Patrick Colquhoun, Bentham (who thought highly of the common informer), Chadwick, and others.

It must be recorded that the appendixes to these two volumes amount to just over two hundred pages, and the bibliographies to another hundred and forty—they are a measure of the tireless research that has laid the foundations of the work. Parliamentary papers and a large pamphlet literature are matched by the harvest that the author gathered in the records of New Scotland Yard, Bow Street and other police offices, and the large collections of the State Papers and Home Office Papers in the Public Record Office. The work already occupies its destined place beside the works of the Webbs rather than beside Holdsworth, which is good company. The mass of material here recorded at great length gives abundant illustrations of the society depicted in the novels of Defoe and Fielding, with a key to some of the language used and the mode of life in the underworld. On several occasions the author shows his awareness that all this material is significant for legal as well as for social history, and it would have been prudent to warn the reader that matters of bail, procedure, evidence, trial practice, and legislation have yet to be treated before we can safely describe the efforts of Parliament and courts to deal with the criminal law of their time.

University of London T. F. T. Plucknett

PETERLOO: THE "MASSACRE" AND ITS BACKGROUND. By *Donald Read*. (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1958. Pp. ix, 234. $6.00.)

Though few textbooks are without a paragraph describing the "Peterloo Massacre," it is surprising how sketchy is the historian's knowledge of the background of the event. This study fills in the background to one of the best-known events in nineteenth-century English history. With resourcefulness and skill Donald Read employs a variety of historical materials, including Hansard, contemporary newspapers, monographs, biographies, published correspondence, manuscript correspondence in the British Museum, and particularly political pamphlets and tracts to trace the background of the event. The result is a highly readable and interesting volume in which the author ably surveys the economic, social, and

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political factors leading to the meeting of August 16, 1819, as well as the aftermath of Peterloo.

Against the economic and social backdrop of industrial Manchester, Professor Read analyzes the social composition of a burgeoning provincial city, emphasizing the differences in outlook and viewpoint between cotton merchant and cotton manufacturer, between cotton spinner and cotton weaver. By a careful study of the political pamphlets and newspapers of the period, he demonstrates that the ideological positions of the important groups, Loyalists, middle-class Radicals, and working-class Radicals crystallized around such heated issues as church and chapel, religious education, and economic conditions. Finally, he shows that it was the economic depression of 1819 that led the working classes, particularly the cotton weavers, to join with the Radical reformers in inviting "Orator" Hunt to speak at Manchester and to stress a political program for the cure of economic ills.

And yet, shortly after the Peterloo meeting, in fact by the end of 1819, the Radical reformers had lost all of their support and influence in the Manchester area. One cause for this decline was the growth of dissension within the ranks of the Radical reformers. This dissension gave the middle-class Radicals a chance for political agitation on a scale that before had been impossible, for it enabled them to place themselves at the head of a popular and righteous cause, to establish themselves in local politics, and to play a larger role in politics at the national level. Nationally the Whig opposition took a middle ground on the issue, although it criticized the Tory government for casting aside "the safeguards of the constitution." Finally, after Peterloo, the various religious communities were forced to define their position with regard to the Radical agitation. The Anglicans openly denounced the Radical reformers, while the Wesleyan Methodists laid down a rule of nonassociation with them.

Read's book is a valuable contribution to the history of a fascinating period. He has written with perception and restraint. The result is a most complete portrayal of Peterloo, the massacre, and its background.

New York State Teachers College, Cortland GILBERT A. CAHILL

NIGERIA: BACKGROUND TO NATIONALISM. By *James S. Coleman.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 510. $7.50.)

MR. Coleman's *Nigeria* is an excellent book—not because its answers are always right but because it asks so many of the right questions in a provocative but modest way. It is essentially a historical study, but its author is a political scientist who has obviously made a considerable effort to grasp the major concepts and contributions of anthropology, economics, and sociology. His technique is worthy of study by all historians interested not only in Nigeria but in other parts of Africa. In a useful appendix note on concepts and terms, Coleman calls attention

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to the imprecision and general inadequacy of many of the key concepts of the social sciences for the study of Nigerian nationalism, and argues persuasively that recent political developments in Africa have created "a new frontier for the social sciences in which concept formation and clarification must be accorded first priority."

After briefly setting forth the geographical, cultural, and early historical background, the author turns to the Western impact on Nigeria, showing how it laid the roots for the growth of nationalism. Three main aspects of this impact—economic forces, Christianity, and Western education—are penetratingly surveyed in successive chapters. The westernized elite is then analyzed, and the author explains with care and discernment the factors that led Africans to conclude that the only way of making their influence felt was to wrest control of the government from the British. Coleman finds the explanation partly in the behavior of Europeans resident in Nigeria, and partly in British policy. Resident Europeans generally regarded educated Africans with "contempt, amusement, condescension, or veiled hostility," while British policy until World War II deliberately excluded the educated elements, with few exceptions, from both the central government and the native administration of local government. Coleman believes that different behavior and policy during this period would have altered the pace and course of Nigerian nationalism.

The next five chapters skillfully trace the rise of Nigerian nationalism from the earliest "resistance and protest movements" through World War II. Nationalist activities from 1945 to 1952, the author's "terminal point," are scrutinized in more detail. A final chapter, less successful than the rest, perhaps because it is an afterthought, comments on political developments from 1952 to 1957.

Although Coleman is conscientious in continually testing his own generalizations, his sympathy for Nigerian nationalists is evident in his tendency to avoid adverse generalizations about them. He concentrates on explaining why Nigerians behaved the way they did, but makes little comparable effort to explain the behavior of the British officials he criticizes.

The quality of the book is enhanced by its attractive photographs, its carefully selected and prepared tables and charts, and its extensive bibliography. Its footnotes, annoyingly buried at the end of the volume, contain valuable additional information. Coleman covers an impressive variety of source materials and subject matter, and his stimulating insights and interpretations make the book a pioneering contribution of major significance.

School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University VERNON MCKAY

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THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON III. By *Theodore Zeldin*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. x, 195. $5.50.)

A FIRST glance at this book raises the expectation that it is a work of first importance. The author, a research fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, has asked important questions, and he has sought the answers in fresh sources. What were the real bases of Napoleon III's power, he asked; who were his supporters, and how were they won and managed? Secondly, why did Napoleon convert the authoritarian empire into a liberal empire? For answers he turned not only to the familiar archives and the well-known private papers in public depositories but also to an impressive array of privately held papers—those of Billault, Buffet, Montalembert, Ollivier, Persigny, Saint-Arnaud, Schneider, and half a dozen others. Not a few scholars will be surprised (and pleased) to know that all of these papers still exist and can be seen.

The book is a useful contribution to the history of the Second Empire. It reveals much about Napoleon III's methods in building a Bonapartist party, largely after 1851, about the economic and social status of its recruits, and about its relationships with the older political groups—Orleanists, Legitimists, and Republicans. The chapters on the government's procedures in the selection and support of official candidates and on the political activities of the prefects offer new insights into the workings of the Napoleonic system at the grass-roots level. Zeldin's description of the decline of the government's political machine in the 1860's is revealing, and his use of private papers has enabled him to illuminate some of the significant divisions among the top leaders of the empire.

In exploring his second question Zeldin found the germ of the liberal empire at the very beginning of the regime. Even in 1852 the empire was dependent for deputies and for influential support at the local level on notables capable of participating in political power and likely to ask for it. The majority of official candidates were not puppets, and their permanent support could not be expected, and, of course, the cities were never won over. But, Zeldin maintains, the first move toward the liberal empire in 1860 was a deliberate choice, unforced by the opposition. The final conversion in 1869–1870 was, he holds, a wise response to the regrouping of political forces that by 1869 had produced a new liberal Bonapartist party in the country and a liberal Bonapartist majority in the legislative body.

Despite its contributions, the book is disappointing, its high promise unfulfilled. It will produce no important revisions in the history of the Second Empire. One puts it down feeling that he knows a little more about the actual functioning of Napoleon III's system but not a great deal, and the author's second question is still not completely answered. The book's failure results in part, I think, from its loose organization; the same subject is often treated in two or three different chapters, and the reader carries away no clear picture or firm judgment.

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Many generalizations are not convincingly supported; a single instance is often the only evidence presented in support of a general statement. Zeldin's subject deserves a better book. He has made a good beginning, and it is to be hoped that he will sometime return to the subject with fuller evidence and better organization.

University of Missouri DAVID H. PINKNEY

FRENCH SOCIALISM IN THE CRISIS YEARS 1933–1936: FASCISM AND THE FRENCH LEFT. By *John T. Marcus*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. xv, 216. $5.00.)

THE "crisis years 1933–1936" mean something more to the author than merely depression years. The period from the advent of Hitler in Germany to the Popular Front election victory in France, he maintains, represented a downward turning point in the destinies of the French Socialist party because of the party's failure to respond with decision and unity to the emergence of Nazism. Events in Germany served to aggravate tensions already existing between reformist, centrist, and revolutionary tendencies so that in the spring of 1933, when Renaudel and his followers called on the SFIO to forge an anti-Hitler defense formation of the left, they were defeated and expelled. Even after the riots of February, 1934, with the threat of a potential fascist triumph in France itself, Socialist indecision and hesitation continued. Thus, the SFIO eventually became no more than a "silent partner" among the Popular Front proletarian organizations. It "backed into" the Popular Front; and the 1935 pact of unity was "a milestone in the decline of French socialism." All this gave to the Communists the prestige of appearing to be the moving force behind the French left; they became the champions of an antifascist *mystique* from which they have profited down to the present.

There is much that is accurate in the picture presented here of weakness, disunity, and vacillation in the ranks of the Socialists. To that state of affairs Léon Blum himself attested in his wartime writings; and Socialist division was dramatically apparent in the events of July, 1940. It can be argued, however, that the Socialists enjoyed more prestige in the spring of 1936 than they are credited with in these pages and that the real loss of proletarian standing came with the assumption of governmental responsibilities, in which the Communists refused to share.

Although one may decide that the author's conclusions are somewhat overdrawn, one can have only praise for the high quality of research and writing that have gone into this thoughtful monograph. The writer has used with profit not only the more obvious official Socialist publications but the press of the various factions as well, all of which he has carefully catalogued and annotated in a valuable bibliography.

Duke University JOEL COLTON

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LE PARTI CATHOLIQUE BELGE, 1830–1945. By *Chanoine A. Simon.* [Collection: "Notre Passé."] (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1958. Pp. 155.)

ORIGINES ET FORMATION DU CATHOLICISME SOCIAL EN BELGIQUE, 1842–1909. By *Rudolf Rezsohazy.* [Université de Louvain Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 4e série, fascicule 13.] (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. xxxiv, 432. 240 fr. B.)

THE history of Catholic political and social movements in Belgium offers at least two points of considerable interest to most students of modern European history. As the Industrial Revolution developed in Belgium somewhat earlier than in neighboring lands, the accompanying social upheaval posed a series of problems for which there was no precedent. In addition, the political activities of the Catholic Church in Belgium differed somewhat from church-state relations elsewhere in Catholic Europe, for, in contrast to the antirevolutionary, antiliberal attitude that generally prevailed among Catholics in the first half of the nineteenth century, Belgian Catholics joined with liberals in the Revolution of 1830, and thereafter participated as a party in a parliamentary government based on an essentially liberal constitution.

The two books under review are able and significant studies of the role of Catholicism in the formation of modern Belgian social and political institutions. Dr. Rezsohazy has compiled an excellent work on the growth of Social Catholicism in Belgium. The organization and narrative are first rate; the scholarship is sound; and the author's judgments, although occasionally biased in favor of his subject, are generally well considered. The first chapter, in particular, stands out as a masterful description of the political, social, and industrial conditions of the 1840's, out of which the first phase of Belgian Social Catholicism emerged. The early enthusiasm of a small group of social reformers faded with the failure of the 1848 revolutions, and gave way to an attitude that the author aptly calls "paternalism." The rude awakening of the strikes and rioting of 1886 ushered in a third phase, a complex period in which new leaders and new movements appeared. When efforts to revive medieval corporatism failed, Catholic labor unions were organized in a number of Belgian industrial areas.

Most of Rezsohazy's book, despite the title dates, is concerned with the years from 1886 to 1909, a period in which an increasingly potent democratic faction sought and secured a place within the hitherto ultraconservative Catholic party. The author demonstrates not only that Social Catholicism arrived on the scene much later than Marxian socialism, but that it was in no small measure a response to the anticlerical and irreligious aspects of international socialism. The majority of the industrial proletariat, particularly in Wallonia, had already been drawn to socialism before the rise of the Catholic social movement. Curiously, scant attention is given to the *Boerenbond,* an effective Catholic Socialist organization in the Flemish half of the country. With this exception, the account is

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well balanced. Major personalities emerge clearly, with the standpatter Charles Woeste, long a leader of the dominant conservative faction of the Catholic party, in the role of villain, and the overzealous Abbé Adolphe Daens as a rather pathetic martyr in a lost cause.

That the Catholic Social movement arose as a militant minority element in an overwhelmingly conservative environment is made abundantly clear in Professor Simon's brief study of the Belgian Catholic party. For more than fifty years after the establishment of Belgian independence in 1830, the Catholic party remained a loosely organized group, united only in support of the constitution and of the Church, which enjoyed a privileged position under the constitution. The most striking features of the Belgian Catholic party were its negative aspects: the absence of any clear political program prior to World War I; the lack of initiative and innovation; and the slow acceptance of the Catholic Social element. The party did, however, succeed for over a century in maintaining a national rather than a regional appeal, and in avoiding close identification with any particular class. Both books contain valuable bibliographies.

Falls Church, Virginia THEODORE B. HODGES

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: A HISTORY OF SWEDEN, 1611–1632. Volume II, 1626–1632. By *Michael Roberts*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xiii, 848. $16.50.)

IT takes a certain boldness for an "outsider" to publish scholarly work on the history of any country not his own. To publish an "authoritative" (and expensive) two-volume history of the Swedish hero-king, Gustavus Adolphus, is notably bold. Michael Roberts, however, is a confident writer who has published in many fields and in this case he has clearly succeeded. In spite of some weird use of language and eccentricity of spelling (e.g., Christian IV with a "K"), the book, it can safely be said, has no rivals of comparable length and merit in English. It will be a standard item on library shelves for many years. And because the author has made a contribution by boldly issuing pronouncements not only on persons and events but on many writers in the field, even Scandinavian historians may be tempted to look at the work.

Roberts has not attempted to base his history upon personal research in unpublished source material. He depends entirely upon the literature available through the scholarly efforts of others. Because the literature is very extensive around the figure of Gustavus Adolphus and the events of the Thirty Years' War, this second volume of the book is richer in detail and controversy than was the first. Roberts, however, handles his sources deftly be they voluminous or sparse. Whenever a single outstanding source (e.g., the multivolumed *Sveriges Krig 1611–1632*) can serve him best, the author rides it freely. When the material is notably

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thin (e.g., on Eastern European affairs) he manages even so by "reasoning" out loud to provide a confident version of developments. Throughout the book he makes great show of pausing to pick and choose among various explanations of events and to support preferred viewpoints with argument while rejecting right and left equally respectable views. All this makes for lively reading and brings out, without necessarily resolving, the points of controversy in the history of Gustavus Adolphus. Roberts utilizes works in almost all the European languages with the notable exception of Russian (a strange omission since he thinks Russia important and apparently reads Polish) but depends most heavily, of course, upon Swedish and German materials. The rather extensive bibliography is impressive (although not to Scandinavian eyes) but suffers from the way it is divided up and from the fact that abbreviated references in the footnotes are not easily traceable to the bibliography.

Because the book is definitely focused upon Gustavus Adolphus, the history of Sweden in the period (presented mainly in "background" chapters) is certainly skewed. Roberts, however, does come closer than most writers to putting both king and country into perspective. He is no blind admirer of the hero and takes him to task repeatedly for mistakes of judgment and even some defects of character. He handles the main themes of the Gustavus Adolphus story plausibly and judiciously, but some important subthemes, unfortunately, fare less well. It must be objected that Richelieu and French diplomacy were not so ridiculous as Roberts makes out. Richelieu was not free to cut Gordian knots in Germany. Likewise, Roberts (gifted, no doubt, by hindsight) errs in believing that Gustavus Adolphus was making a grievous error in instigating and helping the Muscovites against Poland. Actually, before Peter the Great, Russia presented only a minor threat and no "opportunity" for the Swedes, who knew a cold country when they saw it.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

JORDBRUKETS ARBETARE: LEVNADSVILLKOR OCH ARBETSLIV PÅ LANDSBYGDEN FRÅN FRIHETSTIDEN TILL MITTEN AV 1800–TALET [Rural Laborers (in Sweden) from the Period of Liberty to the Mid-Nineteenth Century] [in Swedish; English summary]. Volumes I and II. By *Gustaf Utterström*. (Stockholm: Tidens Förlag. 1957. Pp. 898; 527.)

THIS monograph is part of a series published with the general title *Den svenska arbetarklassens historia* (The History of the Swedish Working Class) which was begun in 1941 with Herbert Tingsten's *Den svenska socialdemokratiens idéutveckling* (The Intellectual Development of Swedish Social Democracy). It is also a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Stockholm. The English summary accompanying the book is longer than usual and

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helps to fill the lack of an index, something deeply to be regretted in a work of this size and comprehensiveness. There is a fine bibliography and 175 closely printed pages of footnotes.

In view of the overwhelmingly agrarian character of Sweden's economy during the period covered (c. 1720–c. 1860), it is clear that Utterström has chosen in the agricultural laborers the most important segment of the Swedish working class. He has also made his task more difficult and the results more significant by considering all of Sweden rather than one restricted area. His work is in many ways pioneering; he has few shoulders to stand upon.

The introductory chapter discusses Swedish agrarian life before the Industrial Revolution and makes use of foreign travelers' accounts of their journeys in Sweden around the turn of the eighteenth century. These observers, including Thomas Malthus, tended to look upon Sweden as a poor underdeveloped country located in an obscure corner of Europe and just barely supporting its ever-increasing population (the result of vaccine, peace, and potatoes) by means of a fairly primitive agriculture. Utterström has been criticized for his use of these and other personal documents by Börje Hanssen (*Historisk Tidskrift* [Sw.], ser. 2, XXI, 1958, pp. 429–33), who argues that he makes the descriptive and subjective material in the book take precedence over the factual and objective portions. Utterström's answer (*Historisk Tidskrift* [Sw.], 1958, pp. 68–87) is that he is writing "dynamic social history," which requires the use of personal documents as well as of statistics that, if considered alone, tend to present a static picture of a given society.

The bulk of Volume I is taken up with analyses of such topics as Swedish economic geography, harvests, public works, agriculture and subsistence, and labor conditions. The discussion of the enclosure movement, which began in Sweden-Finland in the mid-eighteenth century, is especially interesting. Apparently the greatest benefits were enjoyed by the peasants, the chief landholding class, although gains were made by the landless agrarian population in the form of greater job opportunities.

Many reforms in Swedish agriculture were inspired by contacts with Great Britain and, more specifically, with Scotland, where somewhat similar problems were faced. Theory might come from France, but practical innovation derived largely from England. Capital necessary for improvements also came from abroad, often from bankers in Hamburg; Swedish agriculture was, as a result, subject to international complications and fluctuations. The latter also affected domestic handicrafts and the putting-out system, both described in Volume II. Utterström finds a trend toward wage labor and suggests that, with the exception of the 1820's, a period of prosperity for the agrarian working class, this worked more to the detriment than the benefit of farm laborers. With the caution of an archivist, he maintains that much work must still be done on this problem and that his own interpretations are "incomplete and hypothetical."

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This is a valuable book for historians of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European social and economic history.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

DEN SVENSKA UTRIKESPOLITIKENS HISTORIA. Band III, part 4, 1872–1914. By *Folke Lindberg*. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag. 1958. Pp. 360. Kr. 27.)

PROFESSOR Lindberg was among the first to use the German archives blasted open by World War II; from these and other sources he has produced a book that adds a new star to the multiauthored series on Swedish diplomatic history from the Middle Ages to 1939.

Significant sidelights are often thrown on general European history. For example, Lindberg mentions a letter from Kaiser Wilhelm II to King Oscar II in December, 1888, while the Reinsurance Treaty was still in force, speaking frantically of the imminent threat to Germany of a two-front attack by the armies of France and Russia. But the study focuses on the problems of a small country, the structure of its diplomatic service, its decision-making processes, and the methods by which it steered its frail ship of state through waters churned into whirlpools by the greater ships of Russia, Germany, and Britain. The protective November Treaty of 1855 was a perennial hope, yet Sweden felt it necessary even in the nineteenth century to adapt her rules of neutrality to the changing strengths of potential adversaries. The growth of German power attracted Oscar II and Crown Prince Gustaf (who became king in 1907), and alliance was repeatedly suggested. Most of the ministerial and parliamentary leaders, however, were suspicious of Germany, and their influence increased during the period. It was nevertheless important to find a counterweight to Russian ambitions in the Baltic; Sweden had to beware of Russian desires to fortify the Åland Islands, and of her recurrent dream (that was a nightmare to Britain) to make of the Baltic a *mare clausum*.

Two segments of this pre-World War I story Lindberg has already treated in detailed monographs. In *Kunglig Utrikespolitik* (1950) he investigated the personal diplomacy of Oscar II, and especially the dealings with the German monarchy. In *Scandinavia in Great Power Politics, 1905–1908* (1958; reviewed in *AHR*, LXIV [Jan., 1959], 379) he analyzed the complexities of readjustment following the breakup of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905—an event that both weakened and worried Sweden. The present work builds upon these others but covers the entire sweep from 1872 to 1914. It is detailed, clear, and thorough as it unravels the tangled rivalry of royal versus democratic influences in diplomacy, of small state versus great power interests, of problems of neutrality and defense, and even of the major aspects of economic and cultural relationships.

Some thirty-five pages of notes at the end of the book provide a useful guide

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to the major sources of information without interruptive citations in the text and a clutter of *ibids.* The author handles a risky method so well as to make it preferable, here, to orthodox footnotes.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

DER LUTHERISCHE WELTBUND: GRUNDLAGEN, HERKUNFT, AUFBAU. By *Siegfried Grundmann.* [Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, I. Band.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1957. Pp. xix, 586. Cloth DM 32, paper DM 28.)

THE author of this monumental study is a disciple of the renowned Ulrich Stutz and a protégé of Johannes Heckel in Munich. He also moved in the circle of Lutheran Landesbishop D. Hans Meiser during the trying days of the Third Reich. Although he modestly states that he hopes this study will furnish one building stone in the future ecumenical structure, the reviewer believes he has accomplished much more. This pioneering effort, though in parts limited by lack of preliminary studies, provides the *Grundriss* that indicates areas for future specialized investigations.

This study, providing a vast sweep of the past four centuries, should prove of real value to students of history, ecclesiastical law, and theology. As the subtitle implies, the book is divided into three sections: the foundations, historical growth, and present status of the Lutheran World Federation. The *Grundlagen* dealing with the foundations is an excellent analysis of a vast literature that has grown up around Martin Luther's *Kirchenbegriff,* covering both the old school in the days of Sohm and Holstein, and the newer school of which Kattenbusch, Heckel, and Törnvall are stressed, and showing the relationship to the evangelical *Kirchenrecht* which grew up in the Territorial Churches of modern Germany. The author closes with a penetrating summary of the total picture, finding the "visible" and "invisible" churches but two aspects of the same universal church founded by Jesus Christ. It is regretted that Ernst Rietschel's excellent reply to Kattenbusch in 1932 was not considered.

Part two of the book deals with the historic growth since the Reformation of world Lutheranism in the German *Landeskirchen,* in Scandinavia, and in North America. The German study distinguishes between the period under the old empire to 1806 and the period since. It stresses the impacts of the Prussian union movement and the German unification under Bismarck and the last Kaiser. From this study it is evident that trends toward Lutheran unity existed from 1848 and provided the basis for resistance to National Socialism under the *Lutherrat,* refusing to recognize Hitler's Reichsbishop Ludwig Müller and his *Deutsche Christen* movement. After World War II this early movement resulted in the *Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands,* the VELKD. The author similarly traces the growth of world Lutheranism in Scandinavia and on the

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North American continent. The greatest weakness of the book is, understandably, its coverage of American Lutheranism.

In the third and final part, the author ties all this into the larger theme of the growth of the Lutheran World Federation and its relationship to the ecumenical movement of all Protestantism. After the Lutheran world conventions at Eisenach (1923), Copenhagen (1929), Paris (1935), and Lund (1947), the stage was set for the formation of the Lutheran World Federation in 1948. The author shows how the Federation ties into the ecumenical movement beginning at Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937 and culminating in the world conference in Evanston in 1954. The book ends with a discussion of the relationship of the Lutheran World Federation to the *Ökumene*.

This excellent, well-documented volume of the origin and growth of the Lutheran World Federation is worthy of very serious study. It has an excellent table of contents, index, and bibliography. It should be translated speedily into English in order to reach the world of readers it deserves.

Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis ERNEST G. SCHWIEBERT

BUREAUCRACY, ARISTOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY: THE PRUSSIAN EXPERIENCE, 1660–1815. By *Hans Rosenberg*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 34.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 247. $5.00.)

THIS book represents another venture in English (following Dorwart's recent *Administrative Reforms of Frederick William I of Prussia*) into Prussian administrative history, a hitherto much-neglected field which, nevertheless, may prove to be central in elucidating the *ancien régime*. Professor Rosenberg's book (completed, according to the preface, in 1954) is a reconnaissance in depth. Drawing on a wide variety of printed sources and secondary works, he offers an exposition not so much of administrative history as such as of the social consequences of changes in the manner and in the organs of administration. He has been concerned with the triangular relationship among the three entities mentioned in the title, "with the emergence of the modern state bureaucracy and with its impact upon social stratification and political power under the *ancien régime*."

This is a good and important idea. Its execution improves as the book progresses. The first half, though ornamented with many felicitous phrases and (perhaps even rarer) some sparkling translations from the intractable German, limps a little. The narrative is labored, the chronology confused by excessive use of flashbacks, the organization opaque, the method sociological, and the conclusions correspondingly sparse and obscure. The situation depicted was admittedly a complex one, but a good monograph, like a good novel, ought to make intrinsically complex situations plain, and intrinsically dull people interesting.

With the accession of Frederick II the book picks up momentum, and histori-

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cal questions are asked and to some extent answered. Of particular value is the vivid impression of the development of an *esprit de corps* among the new bureaucracy. Politically this is important because the monarchy, having created the bureaucracy, could not completely control it; socially it is even more important because the bureaucracy became, in fact, a principal rallying point for the Junkers. It is therefore only partially true to say that the Junkers had lost their political privileges by the eighteenth century; it would be more accurate to say that those privileges had been to some extent transformed. Nor must we stress unduly the military career reserved by Frederick for the Junkers, considerable favoritism being practiced in staffing the civil service as well. Rosenberg closes his narrative with a skillful sketch of the reform movement as a "revolution from above," as the "emergence of bureaucratic absolutism." What remains now as a principal *desideratum* is an account, on the foundations supplied by Rosenberg, of the struggle for control within the civil service, and chiefly within its aristocratic and gentry membership, between the conservative and reforming factions during and especially after the Napoleonic wars. Only then shall we understand the *Regierungsliberalismus* of the "halcyon years."

Some may feel that in his "Postscript" Rosenberg again falls from grace by yielding to the current fashion of topicality and by unconvincingly seeking links between the eighteenth century and National Socialism. Still, this lapse cannot detract from the value of the book as a confirmation and illustration of that peculiarly Prussian phenomenon, the compromise between the centralizing monarchy and the Junkers, standing originally for traditional privilege and regional autonomy.

Cornell University W. M. Simon

DEUTSCHLAND UND DER ENGLISCH-RUSSISCHE GEGENSATZ 1900–1914. By *Oswald Hauser*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 30.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1958. Pp. viii, 288. Cloth DM 25.50, paper DM 22.50.)

The theme of this interesting monograph is at once more limited and more complex than the title would imply. In his introduction Dr. Hauser indicates that his fundamental concern is with the deterioration in Anglo-German relations during the fateful years from 1900 to 1914. Dominant in this picture, of course, is the Anglo-German naval rivalry. Hauser admits that this subject per se is "well-tilled" ground (thanks to the studies of Hubatsch, Stadelmann, *et al.*), but he feels that the *Flottenfrage* has never been adequately evaluated in the broader context of great-power relationships. Indeed, he strongly implies that the historians of this subject have suffered a bit from the kind of myopia that afflicted Wilhelm II and Tirpitz. Viewing the problem from the vantage point of *Weltpolitische Perspektive,* Hauser has set out to show the grim connection

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between the Anglo-German fleet question and the relationship of England to Russia during the period under consideration.

Although Hauser writes with scholarly precision, he pulls no punches in his devastating analysis of the ineptitudes of German leadership from 1900 to 1914. Here were the gentlemen who spoke so grandiloquently of Germany's *Weltpolitik*, while in fact they failed to comprehend the interplay of large forces on the world scene. Their policies were neither integrated nor flexible. Their understanding of the mentality of other peoples (particularly that of the British) was faulty. Hauser illustrates his thesis by showing how the German leadership misjudged the British reaction to the German naval construction program right from its inception in 1899. Instead of bringing the British around to an alliance with Germany (as the Kaiser and Tirpitz fondly expected), the pressure from Berlin drove them into the arms of Russia. Then, as Hauser points out, the German leaders, having produced what they most feared, proceeded to accept this encirclement "with fatalistic resignation"—and to redouble their pressure on the British fleet! What they should have seen was that the Anglo-Russian tie was far from being a cordial entente during the years from 1907 to 1914. All the way from the Balkans through the Middle East to China, Grey was fighting a covert delaying action against his importunate Russian partner, who was taking full advantage of the situation in the shrewd conviction that Britain would have no alternative to the Russian alignment as long as Berlin continued to increase its heavy-handed threat to the British Home Fleet. This the German leaders obligingly proceeded to do, and even when Lord Haldane came to Berlin they obtusely put their price so high that it could not be met even by those British leaders who were most anxious to escape from Russian blackmail. As Hauser puts it, the German naval program provided the cement that held together the basically unstable bond between London and St. Petersburg.

Since other writers have analyzed in detail the Anglo-German naval problem, Hauser devotes most of his effort to the Anglo-Russian side of the story, bringing in the *Flottenfrage* only at crucial points. Thus, although his basic concern is with the Anglo-German problem, his primary contribution turns out to be a very useful survey of Anglo-Russian relations.

As a result of Hauser's work in English source material, his treatment of the nuances in British policy is notably perceptive. The bibliography is useful but oddly omits R. P. Churchill's study of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

THE FOUNDING OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. By *John Ford Golay*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 299. $5.00.)

IN the year of the Berlin blockade of 1948–1949 the founding of the Federal Re-

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public took on special significance and urgency. The Republic was arising not only from the ashes of Hitler's Reich; the Americans and British wished it to take form quickly, to be a monument of Western sobriety and wisdom, and pleasing in the sight of the French, who were sorry to see any German state at all. The constitution was a document the Germans themselves wished to diminish in importance; they insisted on calling it a Basic Law, because it was being adopted while the country was divided and under occupation. Yet the reluctant founding fathers of the Bundesrepublik worked with great care to produce a document which, while intended for the short range, was to be as well wrought as they could make it.

Mr. Golay's excellent book presents in a condensed and lucid fashion the background and considerations that caused the decisions to be made, the mixed memories that were in the minds of the drafting committee and the delegates to the Parliamentary Council as they pieced out a law that would take account of the present needs and of the terrible failures they had inherited. Working from the records of their deliberations, Golay shows how the differences in the German points of view were reconciled and what (often unexpected) part the Allied image of the good Germany to come played in shaping the document.

The Germans naturally wanted to have a basic law conforming to what they believed were the democratic patterns suited to the country. Thus the cleavages of interest that had given rise to the multiparty system were reflected in a partial system of proportional representation, even though the splinter parties of the Weimar Republic had been in part responsible for Hitler's rise to power. Nevertheless, the decision was a sensible one in the circumstances and has not prevented the trend toward a two-party system that has become increasingly evident in German elections.

There were also changes in the philosophical positions. As Golay points out, in pre-Hitler Germany public order and security were the accepted purposes of the state, while in the United States and Britain individual rights and freedoms came first. The Weimar Constitution had a code of basic rights, but it included such pieties as "It is the duty of every German to accept honorary office." In the Basic Law individual rights became more precise as well as inviolable and binding on the three branches of the government.

The work of the German experts preceding the Parliamentary Council took only thirteen days at Chiemsee, and it was perhaps the pressure for moving rapidly that prevented pedantry from overcoming the needs of the hour. At any rate the Basic Law has become the constitution of a more stable political regime than the Germans have known or expected to see for a long time.

New Haven, Connecticut EUGENE DAVIDSON

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HISTORIKER IN MEINER ZEIT: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Walter Goetz*. With a preface by *Theodor Heuss*. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1957. Pp. xv, 463. DM 32.)

THESE collected essays of a leading German historian, Walter Goetz, republished by friends on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, are an important contribution not only to the history of German historiography but to German intellectual and cultural history. Goetz has held the positions of collaborator, member, and president of the Munich Historical Commission, the chair of Karl Lamprecht at the Leipzig Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, was presiding officer of the *Dante-Gesellschaft,* a member of the Democratic party and political disciple of Friedrich Naumann, and served also as deputy in the Reichstag during the 1920's. Though a critic of Wilhelm II, he was not enthusiastic about the Weimar democratic regime, but in spite of his conservative leanings resolved not to turn backward to authoritarianism. He also thoroughly disapproved of the National Socialist regime.

The essays in this volume date from 1912 to 1955, are edited by Herbert Grundmann and are prefaced by his friend Theodor Heuss, President of the German Federal Republic. They are all to some degree linked to the introductory autobiography, which was originally published in 1925 and has been brought down to the present. Since the reviews and articles were written on the occasion of the birthday or death of a German historian or the publication of a new historical study, the work is not offered as a comprehensive and systematic treatment of German historical writing of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader, however, will find here a wealth of information and some excellent articles. There are perceptive evaluations of Karl Lamprecht, Friedrich Meinecke, Lujo Brentano, Ignaz Döllinger, Adolf von Harnack, and others. Goetz combines a mastery of his subject with a genuine desire to do justice to each historian. Yet at times it is rather difficult to follow Goetz. The article on Treitschke, written in 1934, hails the historian, in spite of his "one-sidedness," as a "guide to genuine national conviction and highest cultural awareness, as a fighter against all phraseology." His "passion"—also reflected in his pamphlet on the Jews—is forgiven, since, allegedly, it was not directed against them, but "actually" grew out of his concern for "German culture." This spirit of impartiality is not extended to August Bebel or to socialism in general.

There are other contradictions in this volume that mirror the confusion of the German intelligentsia in the period between the two World Wars and help to explain the downfall of the Weimar Republic. Goetz holds, for instance, that Lamprecht had never entertained exaggerated conceptions of *Deutschtum* and had never engaged in the cult of power; yet only a few pages earlier we are told that even as "unpolitical" a historian as Lamprecht had prior to World War I supported the inclusion of the Austrian and the Baltic Germans in the German Reich

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and had endorsed a foreign policy that was to extend Germany's zone of influence through Turkey and Persia to Afghanistan and China! During World War I Goetz, in the same vein, had rejected French charges against the excessive nationalism of German historiography. In 1924, under somewhat different circumstances, he admitted with admirable frankness that, under the impact of their "sufferings" in the postwar era, as many as one-half of the German historians had lost historic perception, were full of "prejudicies," motivated by "false piety" toward the past, and failed to see in the march of democracy across Europe the inevitable result of general cultural progress. He admonished these German historians to "open their eyes and look upon the world as it really is, and not as national exclusiveness and overestimation would like it to be." The question raised in the preface by Theodor Heuss as to the rank of Goetz himself in German historiography will be only partly answered by this collection of essays, which throw light merely on one of several areas of his scholarly writings.

Youngstown University ALFRED D. LOW

LEBENDIGE VERGANGENHEIT: BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN SELBSTBESINNUNG. ZUM 70. GEBURSTAG DES VERFASSERS HERAUSGEGEBEN VON FREUNDEN UND SCHÜLERN. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 331. DM 21.)

THE present book contains eleven essays by Professor Ritter and a complete bibliography of all his writings over the last forty-eight years. It was edited by his many friends, among whom the United States is well represented. The title of the book is identical with one which was to appear in 1944 but which was destroyed before distribution. It was reviewed in 1946 by Dr. Alfred Vagts (*AHR*, LI [July, 1946], 711) who did not know of the annihilation of the entire stock. Four of the articles in the present book are identical with those printed in the former work; five were printed elsewhere and thoroughly revised for the present edition; only two are unpublished. Yet many students of history and politics will be grateful for having these essays now easily available in the present handsome volume. It is noteworthy that the subtitle of the 1944 volume read *Beiträge zur historischen Selbstbesinnung,* while the present edition adds the word *politischen.*

Ritter's essays are written from the German point of view, which the author tends to identify with that of the Continent, as opposed to the English liberal tradition. But even on the Continent several states—interestingly enough of "Germanic" origin (Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia)—followed the English rather than the German model of political development and ideology. When Ritter explains the rise of nondemocratic governments in Poland, Spain, etc., by the lack in those countries of the "geistigmoralischen und wirtschaftlich-sozialen

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Voraussetzungen für eine moderne Demokratie," he omits mentioning that a similar lack prevailed in Germany and Italy.

Ritter's attitude toward Bismarck is ambivalent. He knows that he helped to prevent the growth of the Germans "aus einem Volk blindlings gehorchender landesfürstlicher Untertanen in eine politische Nation." German liberal leadership failed in 1848 and again in 1866–1870, and it was Bismarck's fault that after 1870 no German political elite developed, a failure that more than anything else doomed the Weimar Reich. Ritter knows and states this very well. He calls Bismarck's Reich "Erbe des preussischen Militär-und Obrigkeitsstaates" and blames German liberalism for having become the "Vortrupp nationalistischer Machtpolitik." Yet there is in him, as in so many Germans of his generation, a nostalgic love for Bismarck and the conviction that the Weimar Reich perished above all by the attitude of its former enemies.

The same ambivalence characterizes Ritter's noteworthy essay on the political problem of militarism in Germany. In the Prussian army of 1815 there were of course many sober and chivalrous officers like General von Müffling who found the Prussian posture of putting one's foot on the enemy's neck repulsive. But the lamentable fact is that Müffling did not prevail against the chauvinism of Gneisenau, Blücher, or Stein. The same thing happened again and again. After all, Bismarck came to power in 1862 to make militarism triumph, and his glorifiers among German historians enhanced the consequences. After 1918 German officers and nationalists demanded German rearmament for "defensive" purposes, though at that time no one planned "aggression" against Germany. But many Germans wished to revive *Machtpolitik* and to "settle accounts" with Poland and the West.

The critical attitude toward some of Ritter's premises does not diminish the appreciation of the scholarship and of the art of writing which characterize his eminently readable essays. There are at least two—one on the army and the political resistance against Hitler, the other on the Russian enigma—that the present reviewer admired without any reservation and that it would be worth while to translate into English.

City College of New York HANS KOHN

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. Volume I, ORIGINS (1860–1882). By *Richard Hostetter*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1958. Pp. xii, 444. $6.50.)

RICHARD Hostetter offers with this book the first full, rich installment of a three-volume history of the Italian socialist movement. He has bravely plunged into the labyrinth of an obscure sector of a neglected period of unitary Italian history and has come up with a fine, clear chronicle of the ideological-revolutionary battles waged therein. The real protagonists of this story, as Dr. Hostetter

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reiterates at all crucial points, were on the one hand the new Italian state to which the politics and *mystiques* of the *risorgimento* had at last given substance and, on the other, the larger masses of the Italian people in town and country who had assisted more or less passively the progress and success of the national revolution. After "the making of Italy" the forefront of the revolutionary stage came to be occupied by Mazzini and Bakunin, each seeking to win and wean those masses of artisans and/or peasants from the ruling classes whose "real" interest, they agreed for different reasons, had apparently been to achieve the national revolution as a "means" to political predominance. Lurking in the wings of the new Italian revolutionary stage after the founding of the First International was the Mephistophelian archantagonist of both those demiurges of moral or libertarian revolution: Karl Marx.

In his lucid narrative and analytical study Hostetter does not subscribe to the orthodox Marxist characterization of the ensuing three-cornered struggle as a first phase of "the original deviation of Italian socialism." This catch phrase is obviously more than a verbalization of a dogmatic view. There is behind it the assumption of the real existence of a straight "line" which neither the theory nor the practice, neither the history nor the fate of Marxism before and after 1917 seems to justify. Originally or eventually, for over a century the history of European socialism can be read as a series of multiform "deviations" from Marxism and vice versa. Hostetter is naturally fully aware of all this. The conclusion, therefore, that "from the Marxists' point of view" Bakunin's demolition of Mazzinian influence and of the pre-Marxist "body of socialist doctrine" deriving from Proudhon and Pisacane was a "calamity" does elicit some puzzlement. This is further increased by the double negative judgment that it was not because of "Italy's relative lack of industrialization" but because "Italian radicals . . . were simply not well enough informed on 'scientific' socialist doctrine" that "the failure of Marxian socialism, as a system of thought, to recommend itself" was due in Italy after 1871. Degrees of industrialization or of information were of course important, but neither of them nor both can really suffice historically to explain the failure of Marxian socialism in Italy after 1871 any more than, *mutatis mutandi,* they explain the success of Fabianism, revisionism, and syndicalism before 1914 and of Bolshevism in 1917.

The fact is that behind the few, perhaps unavoidable, uncertainties of interpretation in Hostetter's excellent study lies a subtle and justified historiographical pique. The American student of early Italian socialism has here joined in an incipient debate with contemporary Italian orthodox Marxist interpreters among whom, as he points out in the preface, Aldo Romano, Gastone Manacorda, Franco Della Peruta, and Luciano Cafagna are the most outstanding. The sheer accident of publication date may account for the fact that Hostetter refers to neither Leo Valiani's latest rich and felicitous bibliographical article (*Rivista storica italiana,* LXVIII [nos. 3, 4, 1956], 447–510, 620–69) nor Rosario Romeo's critique of Ital-

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ian Marxist historiography (*Nord e sud,* III [no. 21, 1956], 5–37; [no. 22, 1956], 16–44). Be that as it may, Valiani, Romeo, and now Hostetter independently but also collectively constitute a rather formidable and worthy challenge to the orthodox Marxist and Gramscian exegesis on Italian social and socialist history. For the moment at least, Hostetter has well matched Professor Romano's massive *Storia del movimento socialista in Italia* (Rome, 1954–56), whose first three volumes cover much the same ground, and has thus in part shaken the latter's near-monopoly in the field of scholarly interpretation of early Italian socialist history. If it could be detailed here the test of a real historiographical difference between Romano and Hostetter would be shown to be in their approach to the central problem constituted by Bakunin in Italy. Be it sufficient merely to suggest that while Romano's Bakunin is largely the creature of the original Marxian interpretation revised according to Gramsci, Hostetter's Bakunin is on the whole a historical figure empirically reconstructed through an analysis of the Russian anarchist's contrasting activity and impact upon Italian revolutionary circles before and after 1872.

Hostetter's work thus contributes much toward restoring a needed modicum of balance, through an independent reconstruction and reappraisal of what he regards as a summarization of early experiences rather than a "prehistory" of the Italian socialist movement. It may well be, however, that his work is neither a summary nor a prehistory. Hostetter is either too cautious or too modest to refer to it for what it really is: solid social and ideological history of a unique moment in the post-*risorgimento* era. In its fusion of the clarity of the synthesis with the depth of the monograph, his book is an enviable example of a successful mode of attack on the social historian's perennial dilemma.

New York University A. William Salomone

TITOISM IN ACTION: THE REFORMS IN YUGOSLAVIA AFTER 1948. By *Fred Warner Neal.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 331. $6.50.)

After Stalin violently excommunicated Yugoslavia in June, 1948, the Yugoslav Communists, gradually recovering from the trauma, evolved a modified ideology of their own and took certain striking practical steps in an effort to make Yugoslav actuality conform with their theories. Titoism has attracted world-wide attention; we all want to know whether it works, and if so how. Some observers, like C. P. McVicker, in his recent *Titoism, Pattern for International Communism,* argue that other Communist parties may well imitate it in the future. Mr. Neal, also a political scientist covering the same ground but more cautious, limits himself to a review of the chief aspects of the system. In a chapter apiece, he discusses the new doctrine, the Communist party (including the Djilas case), the leader (with speculations on the succession to Tito), the new

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governmental system (federal), the control of the economy, the reforms in local government (including the new commune, still in an early and mysterious stage), the reforms in agriculture, and relaxations of totalitarianism. The last two of these are the thinnest; the reader will hardly get the sense of what it is to be a peasant in a peasant country, nor will he be satisfied with the perfunctory summaries on religion and on freedom of expression. Two final chapters contain the author's reflections on Titoism in general and a discussion of Yugoslav foreign policy. The last chapter is disappointing; it omits all mention of the long-vexed Trieste issue and barely mentions Tito's effort to associate himself with the Indians, the Indonesians, and the Burmese as a kind of "third force" in international affairs.

In general, the historian will welcome another summary of this kind, particularly as he will find Neal's conclusions objective and judicious. But he may also feel the doubts often awakened by the straight "political science" treatment of a subject that to him may seem to require historical analysis. Yugoslavia is a complicated country, whose development, even as a Communist-dominated state, did not begin in 1948. Yet the reader is given no effective background against which to judge contemporary developments: he is told repeatedly, for example, that the Yugoslav "cultural level" is low, but never in what particulars or as the result of what forces. Even the growth of Titoism itself is obscured by the purely topical treatment; in fact, the post-1948 political experimenting in Yugoslavia began with the decentralization of the economy, moved into local government, thence to the central government, and only thereafter to the party. The order of Neal's chapters (though within each one he gives the appropriate dates of each important measure) in itself ignores the larger sweep of the movement as it gathered momentum.

The style sometimes shares the baffling terminological confusions of the Titoists themselves. Of the reforms in general, for example, Neal says: "Generally speaking, they were not put into effect by individual laws but rather as a series of measures created by decrees and then finally pulled together in formal enactments." The differences, if any, between laws, measures, decrees, and enactments elude the reviewer. Does Neal mean that the reforms were enacted in batches without a discernible over-all pattern, and only later codified?

Harvard University ROBERT LEE WOLFF

FINLAND AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917–1922. By *C. Jay Smith, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. x, 251. $4.50.)

PROFESSOR Smith is one of the growing number of American scholars who have made use during the past several years of the Helsinki collections of Russian materials, which are the most extensive now available in free Europe. In his present study he has placed the emphasis on "the external side of Finnish affairs

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. . . as illuminated primarily by materials in Russian and Western sources." It is the author's contention that these sources "have been somewhat neglected in Finland."

The main part of the narrative consists of a half-dozen interesting chapters that span the period from January, 1918, to September, 1923. It also includes a prologue which gives a summary of Finland's history during the century before 1914, and a "Summary and Conclusions" chapter based on what the author considers to have been the experiences of the country during the period 1917–1922. It is the author's hope that the "factual record of Finland's experiences" in 1917–1922 will result in a "deeper understanding of the great Russian Revolution."

The author has labored under the formidable handicap of being unable to use Finnish or Swedish sources except when available in English, French, or German translation. Parts of his book, therefore, are distressingly inadequate. This applies especially to the prologue and to the account of the "origins" of the civil war in 1918. (In the latter connection and throughout his book Smith appears to be unaware of the fact, or reluctant to accept the fact, that the war was a war for independence in the strict sense of the term.) It applies no less to the characterization of Finland's position before and during World War I that involves fact and circumstance that can be understood only by using sources available in Finnish or Swedish. A single illustration suffices to indicate the author's difficulties. In his summary he offers the startling statement that before 1900 "there did not exist any real anti-Russian nationalist movement, and there is no reason to believe that Finland would not have fought loyally by Russia's side between 1914 and 1917" had it not been for Russification policies of the preceding fifteen years. This is indeed bold and extravagant interpretation of the record of the years in question.

This reviewer has long had a marked a priori inclination to enjoy and to appreciate new English-language additions to the relatively limited literature dealing with the nations of the Scandinavian north. In this instance one records with regret that despite the author's objectivity and the labor he has obviously expended upon his volume, it disappoints more than it pleases.

Columbia University JOHN H. WUORINEN

SMOLENSK UNDER SOVIET RULE. By *Merle Fainsod*. [A RAND Corporation Research Study.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 484. $8.50.)

IN 1941 the invading Germans captured the official files and records of the Smolensk *oblast* (province) organization of the Communist party of the Soviet Union for the period from 1917 to 1938 that the Soviets had failed to evacuate or destroy. German intelligence officers made a random selection of 536 files which were removed to Germany, where they were found by United States mili-

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tary authorities. The volume under review is the result of Professor Merle Fainsod's judicious analysis of this unique and undisputed source of information concerning inner party life on the local level. This task required the careful study of approximately 200,000 pages of documents, which could be utilized initially only with the help of an especially prepared index.

Fainsod has masterfully pieced together and interpreted these documents in terms of the organization of political authority, the controls through which it was exercised, and its impact upon people's lives. Following a brief survey of the historical development and general condition of Smolensk and its party organization, the bulk of the archival data is presented analytically in chapters dealing with the subordinate party and governmental levels, the security organs, the courts and the procuracy, criminal activity, the purges, collectivization of agriculture, and the condition of the peasantry. Other chapters deal with the organization of the machine tractor stations and their relation to the party, its relations with the military, party control over higher education, censorship operations (a revealing treatment), and the struggle against religion as recorded by the believers in atheism. The status of the Jewish and Polish minorities in Smolensk *oblast* is also given attention.

Though uneven and containing gaps, the Smolensk party archive is a most revealing source. Here one finds protocols of the *obkom* (province committee) of the party, correspondence between the bureau of this committee and the numerous *raion* or district party committees subordinate to it, numerous plaintive and pathetic letters addressed to this seat of local authority in the hope of securing justice, and instances of that infamous Soviet institution, the denunciation. There are numerous reports from the detailed records of the OGPU-NKVD dealing with complaints of the population and the presence of anti-Soviet attitudes.

One is impressed by the many instances of corruption and abuse and by the seamy side of Soviet life reflected in these confidential and secret documents; cases of embezzlement, sexual promiscuity, and drinking bouts were apparently quite prevalent through the years. The Soviet sin of "familyness" or local self-protective cliques, the frequent use of scapegoats, and the ease with which party people dissociated themselves from their colleagues who had fallen from grace are all present. In the archive one finds lists of purged party members, lists of officials entitled to preferential treatment in obtaining goods in scarce supply, and many secret directives and circulars from Moscow.

The archive also provides unquestionable documentary confirmation of the accounts and observations of many of the Soviet World War II refugee informants. It is a vital source, not only for our understanding of the local impact of Stalinism, but also for our knowledge of the inner workings of the phenomenon itself. Fainsod has made the fullest use of these rare documents and has treated the first two decades of Soviet rule in an unusual manner. It is unlikely that he shall have any equal.

University of Washington JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

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Near Eastern History

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL VON EGYPTEN UND SEINE ZEIT: EINE STUDIE ZUR GESCHICHTE VORDERASIENS UND EGYPTENS IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 7./13. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hans L. Gottschalk*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1958. Pp. x, 256. DM 30.)

THE title of this monograph by the noted Orientalist of the University of Vienna is misleading, for it is neither a biography nor a "life and times." It is a study of the statecraft by which al-'Ādil, and especially al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238), managed to hold the Ayyūbid realm together after the death of Saladin. It is written for the specialist, but Gottschalk's engaging style proves that Near Eastern history need not be dull. Medievalists will also find this work valuable for the judicious discussion of Ayyūbid relations with the Franks.

Two theses, neither one entirely new but both here expressed for the first time in a coherent and cogent fashion, command attention. The first thesis views two stresses operating within the Ayyūbid state as potentially subversive of the state's structure. One of these stresses was the rivalry among the component elements of the state (Egypt, Yemen, etc.). The other was the political instability within the vassal states. This instability stemmed from the clash between the pro- and anti-Ayyūbid factions. The time of change in ruler in a vassal state was the moment of greatest danger for the Ayyūbids. It was then that the anti-Ayyūbid faction would make its bid for control, often relying upon the assistance of an outside power. The result was war, and war which often threatened to broaden into a fratricidal struggle.

The second thesis ranges beyond Ayyūbid history in its implications. Egyptian security demands the control of Syria which Gottschalk extends to include the areas of Armenia and Mesopotamia bordering on Syria. Egypt was ruled as a centralized, unified state; not so Syria. There the political scene was dominated by local lords and dynasties. The problem for the Ayyūbids was how to control Syria—as a federation of lords installed by and loyal to the Ayyūbids, or as a unified state. Saladin and al-'Ādil tried the former; al-Malik al-Kāmil the latter. He died before attaining his goal of a unified Syria and it was left to the Mamlūks to complete the task after a fashion. The second half of the monograph is devoted to al-Malik al-Kāmil's attempt at unification.

Excellent use is made of the printed Arabic sources. The indexes are good. The work would be strengthened by the inclusion of more material on the factions labeled as anti-Ayyūbid, a bibliography, and a detailed map of adequate scale. A political history is only the necessary skeleton. We hope that Gottschalk will go on to fill it out with other studies, especially an institutional history.

Princeton University NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

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THE MUQADDIMAH: AN INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. In three volumes. By *Ibn-Khaldûn*. Translated from the Arabic by *Franz Rosenthal*. [Bollingen Foundation Series, XLIII.] (New York: Pantheon Books for the Bollingen Foundation. 1958. Pp. cxv, 481; xiv, 463; xi, 603. $18.50 the set.)

IBN-KHALDÛN (1332–1406) came too late for the period of translation from Arabic into Latin. Until the nineteenth century, therefore, his influence was limited practically to the Arabic-speaking world which, judged by the numerous manuscripts and printed editions, lacked no appreciation of his unique *Muqaddimah* (*Muqaddamah,* in the Arab East), the first of his seven-volume history of the Arabs and Berbers. Of the non-Arab Moslems, the Ottoman Turks took the keenest interest in this brilliant student of society and state. A Turkish translation of his *Muqaddimah* appeared in 1863. The French came next with a complete rendition by de Slane in three volumes (Paris, 1862–68) based on an Arabic edition by Quatremère (Paris, 1858). Since his discovery by Europe, ibn-Khaldûn and his work have been the subject of numerous dissertations and treatises in its languages. In English, Reynold Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1922) and Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London, 1950) rendered passages and excerpts. It was left to Professor Rosenthal to undertake the entire work and achieve it with high distinction. Ibn-Khaldûn's long wait was not in vain.

In an eighty-six-page introduction the translator sketches the life of his author and deals critically with his work. He does not share the general disappointment in ibn-Khaldûn's failure to apply adequately the theories elaborated in the *Muqaddimah* to the material—at least in the last two volumes of the history he wrote—and partially explains it on the ground of following the Moslem precedent of relegating theories to an introduction, an unconvincing argument.

Rosenthal was fortunate in finding and using manuscripts written in ibn-Khaldûn's lifetime—one bearing his autograph and another inscribed by his amanuensis—and preserved in Istanbul and Fez. As for the system of translation, he seemingly faltered between the literal and the modernized types, as a spot check of several passages would indicate, when there should have been no question in such a work about being as faithful to the linguistic original as can be consistent with the English idiom. Nevertheless, the rendition is entirely adequate and thoroughly trustworthy. Nowhere could this reviewer detect a serious misinterpretation. Here and there shades of meaning were missed, e.g., "excitability" should be "fickleness"; "enables them to cooperate" should read "is intended for mutual cooperation." Here is a case of unnecessary literalism: the repeated use of the verb "to obtain" with "language" as its direct object. In every case checked, the transliteration was found to be meticulously done, with only one slip noted: "Lattakiyah" for "al-Ladhiqīyah," "Latakiyah," "Latakia." It was surprising to see "Bulaq" Anglicized but Koran (Qur'ān) Arabicized throughout the work.

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The text is illustrated with a number of figures and plates, some in color, and supplemented by a twenty-seven-page bibliography by Walter J. Fischel and a full index—leaving nothing to be desired.

Princeton, New Jersey PHILIP K. HITTI

THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY: MODERNIZING THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Daniel Lerner,* with the collaboration of *Lucille W. Pevsner.* Introduction by *David Riesman.* [Prepared under the auspices of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.] (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 466. $7.50.)

THIS book is first of all the presentation of a theory of modernization. The general theory is that a modern style of life has arisen within the European orbit and spread to the non-European world, and that inextricably connected with such modernity is a distinctive personality. The features of modernity are urbanization, literacy, and "participant lifeways," e.g., participation in elections and having opinions about matters outside one's immediate problems and needs. The predominant personal style of modern society is distinguished by empathy, "the capacity to see onself in the other fellow's situation."

This theory is in part developed from, in part applied to, case studies of Turkey, Lebonon, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iran. On the basis of a series of some sixteen hundred questionnaires three personality types have been distinguished, traditional man, modern man, and the transitional, not yet fully modern, but partly mobile and on his way toward "participant lifeways." Empathy plays a crucial role. Some persons, regardless of social, economic, or educational condition, are more empathic than others. These are the ones who first respond to knowledge of new ways, and begin the process of modernization. At the same time, modernization itself creates the empathic personality.

Lerner applies his typology to each of the countries represented by interviews. In the process, he integrates his material with general socio-economic and political developments. He concludes that the spread of mass media, by increasing the tempo and extent of personality modernization, is a major force. In areas where balanced modernization prevails and modernizing persons have reasonable prospects of satisfying their new desires, such as Turkey and Lebanon, there is stability and self-sustaining growth. In other areas, such as Egypt and Syria, where the modernization of the economy lags, the modernizers have little prospect of fulfilling their new wants and violent instability is the result. Lerner also detects, here and there, the beginning of class consciousness among the depressed masses, and even suggests that some of the newer political groups have succeeded by their ability to utilize social discontent.

The questionnaires used by Lerner throw light primarily on participation in the media of mass communication. That a high rate of media participation indi-

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cates a weakening of the traditional forms of authority and movement toward what Lerner understands by "participant lifeways" is a doubtful proposition. In this connection it should be pointed out that the correlation of media participation and Near Eastern urban and election indices is inadequate. The Near Eastern town, regardless of size, is not an urban area in Lerner's sense, and Syrian and Lebanese elections, at least, have been characterized by a much higher degree of electoral participation in the villages than in the towns. Other studies as well as personal observation, moreover, testify to the continued vitality of family and personal ties, even among those elements most exposed to modernization. Finally, in discussing political developments, Lerner has relied on a literature that is rich in opinions but very poor in concrete data.

Still, research of any sort on the modern Near East has hardly begun. Whether or not Lerner's main theses, which he regards only as "more plausible hypotheses than they were before," will be validated by future research and events, the book is valuable and stimulating. Every chapter contains new material and acute judgments. The book is a very welcome first effort in the application of the techniques of opinion research to the social and political life of the Near East.

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

Far Eastern History

DAS JAHRHUNDERT DER CHINESISCHEN REVOLUTION, 1851–1949. By *Wolfgang Franke*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 297. DM 19.80.)

In this book we have a text frankly intended for general consumption rather than for Sinologists. The author says his purpose is to present the step-by-step development of Chinese revolution through the many-sided development of China rather than to give "a mere history of China of the last hundred years." Dr. Franke is reasonably successful in attaining this hypothesis, for he has drawn a leading thread of elucidation in sequence down through the century of revolution to the present time. His selection of materials with their analyses is more historical and impartial than is that of some recent publications on this subject and he does not, as some are wont to do, assume that this is the ultimate step in China's revolution.

The text consists of six chapters. Chapter I gives a well-condensed summary of revolutions in Chinese history. Chapter II reviews the forerunners of the revolutionary movement of the twentieth century: the Taiping Revolution, the reform movement of 1898, and the Boxer movement of 1900. Chapter III outlines the revolution of the state constitution (1911) and its preceding history. Chapter

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IV deals with the cultural revolution (the movement of May 4, 1919). In this chapter the author shows the student rebellion against the shortcomings of Confucianism and the significance of the students' role in the revolution. Chapter V covers the political revolution: the victory of the Kuomintang. The author treats the matter of Sun Yat-sen's leadership, associates, and programs with a harshness that smacks of a lack of historical perspective and also of biased judgment. He quotes from *La République Chinoise* (Paris, 1914) of Albert Maybon to support this unfair and uncritical position. Chapter VI deals with the social revolution: the breakdown of the Kuomintang and victory of the Communists. Here the author might have demonstrated his own independent thinking and conclusions. Instead of following the current vocabulary, approach, and conclusions of the day regarding China, he could have tackled the fundamental problems in the growth of capitalism, the process of industrialization, the rise of nationalism, and the emergence of new leadership. The ten-year multiple reconstruction period of China under the Nationalist government, 1928–1938 (cf. U. S. *Cong. Record,* 76 Cong., 1 sess., Aug. 2, 1939) is omitted. Regarding the Marshall mission the author repeats more of Marshall's personal opinions than the documentary evidences of his mediation. A sojourn in China in the years 1937–1950 would tend, we feel, toward a limitation comparable to that of an author spending the years 1919–1933 in the Weimar Republic.

University of California, Los Angeles YU-SHAN HAN

THE DIPLOMACY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: 1945–1958. By *Russell H. Fifield.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xv, 584. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Fifield has put all students of contemporary world affairs in his debt by this carefully documented exposition of the international relations of Southeast Asian countries. His discussion encompasses an enormous variety of issues, but gives relatively little attention to nonpolitical and domestic affairs. He has apparently exhausted the available voluminous English-language sources, and includes a bibliographical appendix of forty-seven pages. Introductory chapters describe the setting (geography, peoples, resources), political developments prior to independence, and the governmental machinery relating to foreign policy administration. The main portion of the book is organized on a country-by-country basis. Late chapters discuss factors involved in regionalism and the relations of the countries to the United Nations, both as recipients of technical assistance and as participants in the formal sessions of the UN. A short concluding chapter analyzes the political forces operative in the postwar period.

One of the refreshing characteristics of the book is its completely objective spirit, which avoids all trace of partisanship even in the most controversial issues. The author surveys the interrelations of the several countries with each other and with their larger Asian neighbors, their attitudes toward protagonists in the cold

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war and toward important problem areas. Particularly well done is Fifield's thoughtful evaluation of the successive Asian conferences in which Southeast Asian countries have participated. One of his appendixes reproduces the full text of the final communiqué of the Bandung Conference of 1955. The book is easily the best in its field both as to extent of coverage and in terms of scholarly competence.

When so much as been afforded, it may seem ungracious to ask for more. It must nevertheless be pointed out that the several chapters are not of equal quality. Those on the Philippines, Malaya, and Indonesia reflect a depth of understanding that is not apparent in the less perceptive chapters on the prelude to independence, Burma, and Thailand. Research in the printed sources, however meticulous, cannot compensate for the lack of the "feel" of a given situation. The limitations attending the author's almost complete dependence on English-language sources is especially apparent in the long chapter on the two Vietnams, Cambodia, and Laos, valuable as is his discussion as a pioneering venture. Only three footnotes refer to French sources, while vernacular materials are not utilized at all. It is precisely because the foreign policies of Southeast Asian states derive from varying concepts of national interest stemming from economic, cultural, and historical factors that formal pronouncements of policy available in English must always be assessed in their particular contexts. The author's analysis lags somewhat behind his description; his insight is not always up to the high level of his exposition. Finally, his unwillingness to hazard personal opinions and conclusions, however commendable in terms of objectivity, is at times disappointing, especially in situations where he is eminently qualified to speak.

A few examples can be cited. More emphasis could be given to the fact that Thailand's government has not been obliged to take into account, as have its ex-colonial neighbors, popular hypersensitivity to the alleged continuing dangers of Western imperialism. The reviewer would also like to have Fifield's estimate concerning the risks that the Thai may be taking in their future relations with China by reason of Bangkok's pressure to nationalize resident Chinese. Burma's political leaders are not in as complete agreement regarding foreign policy as their public pronouncements seem to indicate. Premier Nu's labored concern for religious revival was not unanimously approved, although few dared challenge it openly. Burma's attitudes toward India and Pakistan as well as toward China are colored by psychological and historical factors which are not revealed in current English-language documents. In short, this book provides an excellent foundation for further study of the subject, which must, however, include the utilization of language sources other than English plus a more adequate appreciation of psychological factors and that elusive thing called national character.

Ohio University JOHN F. CADY

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OKINAWA: THE HISTORY OF AN ISLAND PEOPLE. By *George H. Kerr.* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1958. Pp. xviii, 542. $6.75.)

THIS is the first comprehensive and authoritative history of the small but strategically and politically important island kingdom of Okinawa. The pertinence of this book will be as apparent to the hundreds of thousands of Americans who have lived and served on Okinawa as soldiers, sailors, marines, or civilians from 1945 to the present as to the smaller community of students and scholars in the field of the Far East. Both groups will be pleased with the appearance of a book that answers the questions of the curious layman, satisfies the standards of critical scholarship, and is readable and fascinating besides.

Mr. Kerr is qualified to write this history by extensive residence and travel in Japan, Okinawa, and Taiwan, by his use of the valuable collections at Hoover Library, and by his familiarity with a wide range of official, documentary materials in Washington and elsewhere, some of which he had a part in preparing. Following the classic tradition of both Chinese and Western historians, he made a special tour of the geographical sites and historical monuments of the area as a part of his preparation for writing this book. Consequently, Kerr is able to bring a fresh, personal knowledge and concern of and for his subject and to breathe life into the dry record of the past.

This history of Okinawa covers the legendary past of the archipelago, with the Chinese and local traditions of migrations and kings, reflecting its early connections with the mainland of China and the South Seas. The microscopic "greatness" of Okinawa occurred in the period from 1398 to 1573, when the Chuzan kingdom enjoyed comparative independence and achieved a modest opulence through domestic industry and foreign trade under a vigorous and stable local monarchy. This was followed by two centuries of isolation and the gradual loss of independence through a creeping "tributary-itis," which eventually found Okinawan kings cringing before two masters—a remote, haughty, and condescending Emperor of Heaven in Peking and a nearby, arrogant, and mercenary feudal overload in Kagoshima, *tozama daimyo* of Satsuma, the Japanese state immediately north of the Ryukyu chain. The long period of divided loyalties and the complex pattern of Okinawan government and society that emerged is sensitively and carefully developed.

To Americans, the brief but important interlude starring Commodore Matthew C. Perry, USN, in 1853–1854, has more than a casual interest, in the light of the position and problems of our occupation and administration of Okinawa from 1945 to the present. Commodore Perry represented a transitory, premature, but prophetic aspect of American history and policy which Kerr does not fully appreciate. His use of the documents of American history, in fact, involves numerous errors in detail and a general lack of perspective and understanding. Another flaw in his treatment of the nineteenth century is a rather sophomoric

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and gratuitous disdain for all the missionary efforts in Okinawa, which, it must be admitted, lend themselves to ridicule. While both of the above-mentioned defects detract somewhat from the maturity of the book, they do not seriously affect its general soundness and accuracy. On the contrary, it is possible that this evidence of personal bias may add to the color and sprightliness of the book, particularly where the reader happens to agree with the point of view. The history ends with the Battle of Okinawa in 1945. The period of American occupation and administration is not covered.

This is a valuable book. It fills in a gap in the history of Eastern Asia and becomes an immediate must for every American serving in Okinawa, Japan, or Taiwan, as well as for every serious student of the Far East. Kerr has made a timely contribution to a still unsolved problem of practical politics and administration.

University of Colorado EARL SWISHER

American History

ASPECTS OF LIBERTY: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO ROBERT E. CUSHMAN. Edited by *Milton R. Konvitz* and *Clinton Rossiter*. [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 355. $5.50.)

THE sixteen papers comprising this collection of essays in honor of Professor Robert E. Cushman are grouped under six headings: theoretical, methodological, historical, international, comparative, and (sixth) jurisdictional, institutional, and procedural aspects of the common subject "human liberty—the chief concern of his scholarly labors, the guiding star of his public service, and the delight of his gentle spirit." It may be proper to state here that it was as presiding officer of an intercollegiate debate at Ithaca many years ago that Cushman first became known to this reviewer as a gracious practitioner of fairness, impartiality, and due process. A bibliography of the honoree's writings, compiled by Harold Frank Way, Jr., is appended. There is no index. The contributors are Robert M. Hutchins, Clinton Rossiter, James Hart, George E. G. Catlin, Milton R. Konvitz, Joseph Tanenhaus, John F. Cushman, John P. Roche, Donald G. Morgan, Quincy Wright, Herbert W. Briggs, Robert K. Carr, Mario Einaudi, William Anderson, Robert Fairchild Cushman, and R. B. Whitesel.

In general the authors furnish a competent summary of the "state of the art" with respect to the various subjects treated but do not contribute any significantly novel insights. The reviewer found Carr's comparison of English and American methods of protecting civil liberties particularly interesting, as well as Einaudi's comments on problems of freedom in postwar Europe. International protection of human rights is discussed by Wright and Briggs. The remaining articles relate

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to conditions in the United States or are of a general philosophical nature. The use of social science data in civil rights litigation (notably the school segregation case) is interestingly treated by Tanenhaus; and Roche advances the hypothesis that "there is no 'tradition of liberty' in the United States, but two traditions."

In preindustrial America, Roche points out, there was little respect on grounds of principle for views considered fundamentally wrong, but extensive freedom for exercise of individualism was afforded because there was no established ideological monopoly. On the contrary, there were a multitude of subcultures and everyone could find somewhere a community that shared his peculiar views. Civil and religious liberty, as Madison observed in the *Federalist,* would result as a by-product because none of the numerous conflicting groups could become powerful enough to attain domination over the others. In modern industrialized America, however, the impersonal and administratively regulated structure of society affords the nonconformist an institutional safeguard or legal remedy that is provided as a positive goal of national public policy. Nothwithstanding the dangerous potentialities of centralized authoritarianism, the influx of lawyers into the national bureaucracy has contributed to the observance of standards of procedural regularity which furnish substantial protection for the civil rights of individuals as a matter of principle.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

ARMS AND THE STATE: CIVIL–MILITARY ELEMENTS IN NATIONAL POLICY. By *Walter Millis,* with *Harvey C. Mansfield* and *Harold Stein.* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1958. Pp. 436. $4.00.)

IN 1951 the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, after more than thirty years of exclusive concern with economic problems, began exploring the possibilities of expanding their activities into other fields "in the search for the keys to major contemporary problems." The area for study finally selected was civil-military relations, to be researched by political scientists and historians. In 1953 Harold Stein, lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, and formerly deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, was appointed research director of a project designed to produce two works. The first was to be a series of detailed case studies illustrating the relationship of military, political, and economic factors in the formulation of national policy; the second a history of civil-military relations in the United States since 1930, with special emphasis on the decade 1945–1955.

The present volume represents the completion of the second project, with changes in focus and authorship caused by the illness of Mr. Stein. The original plan to write a history of civil-military relations gave way as work progressed to a study of the role of the military and civilian and their interrelationships in the

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shaping of policy dicisions on the highest level. Professor Harvey C. Mansfield, editor of the *American Political Science Review,* assumed the task of writing the first part of the book, and Walter Millis joined the project in 1955 to complete the portion that Stein had expected to write. After his recovery the director himself assumed the editorial burdens involved in publication and contributed a thoughtful and generally excellent introduction.

Arms and the State is therefore the work of several hands, each highly competent but also individualistic. Very wisely, Stein has made no effort to impose a single pattern or point of view on the work. Instead, he has divided the book into two parts, each with its own attribution of authorship. Thus the differences in approach, style, and level of treatment do not create any difficulty, especially since the authors share many of the same ideas and attitudes.

Excellent as this solution is, it must be recognized that *Arms and the State* is still two volumes in one. Part I, in three chapters and the work of Mansfield, is essentially introductory in nature, tracing briefly and in summary fashion civil-military relations from the Manchurian crisis in 1931 to the end of World War II. The approach is analytical rather than historical, with emphasis on the administrative and institutional arrangements devised to coordinate the political and military elements involved in the formulation of policy.

Mr. Millis' portion of the volume, six chapters, covers the period from the close of World War II to the end of the Korean War. A gifted writer with a highly individual style and point of view, Millis traces the development of policy through the various crises between 1945 and 1955. Basically, this portion of the book is an analysis of policy since 1945 within the context of a historical survey of the cold war. It is largely interpretive, filled with illuminating and sometimes brilliant insights, and has a sense of excitement and immediacy that is the special mark of Millis' writing.

Different as they are, the two parts of this book, together with Stein's introduction, have an underlying unity—the problems presented in coordinating military with political factors in the formulation of national policy. In an age of ICBMs and fission and fusion bombs, few problems are more important than those dealing with the delicate balance between civilian and military authorities and institutions. By throwing light on this little-known area, the authors of this excellent survey, as well as the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, have performed a valuable service for students and the public alike. The early publication of the case studies promises to add still further to our understanding of this important subject.

Department of the Army LOUIS MORTON

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THE AMERICANS: THE COLONIAL EXPERIMENT. By *Daniel J. Boorstin.* (New York: Random House. 1958. Pp. 434. $6.00.)

THE process by which immigrants of various backgrounds and religions in the colonial period gradually evolved into the *genus Americanus* is the theme of Professor Boorstin's provocative book. This is not another history of colonial America giving the familiar outline of dates and events; it is instead Boorstin's interpretation of broad developments in the principal segments of the thirteen colonies. Book One, "The Vision and the Reality," deals with the quality of Massachusetts Bay, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Virginia, the regions which Boorstin singles out for particular emphasis. In Book Two, "Viewpoints and Institutions," he treats the American "frame of mind," learning, medicine, and the limits of American science. In Book Three, "Language and the Printed Word," he discusses such subjects as American speech, books and reading, and the press. In Book Four, "A Nation of Minute Men," he proceeds to the Revolution with attention to the quality of American military thinking and its legacy to the future.

As is evident from the outline, Boorstin travels in seven-league boots over an extensive terrain and gets the reader somewhat out of breath before dropping him into the midst of the Revolution. An occasional reader may choke with apoplexy, not from the exertion of following the author's rapid progress, but from some of his generalizations, which depart from cherished clichés in the colonial legend. Local patriots and regional historians will suffer a special hazard because Boorstin never walks around their extended toes and shows no regard for the sensitivities of special groups. The bland disregard of traditional beliefs and the detached way in which the author presents controversial conclusions will certainly stimulate fresh and profitable discussion of the meaning of the colonial experience and its effect upon later development. Boorstin has read widely in the source material and has come to conclusions that represent the opinion of an informed and original mind. If many of these opinions are less novel than they at first appear, they nevertheless find fresh and forceful expression in this book.

Like a good many other modern scholars, Boorstin realizes that the rank and file even in Massachusetts Bay were less interested in theology than in practical godliness. "So it was that although the Puritans in the New World made the Calvinist theology their point of departure," he asserts, "they made it precisely that and nothing else. From it they departed at once into the practical life. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century there was hardly an important work of speculative theology produced in New England." The core of Boorstin's thesis is that immigrants who succeeded in adapting themselves to the colonial experience and evolving into an American type did so by disregarding the useless lumber of theory and by cleaving to the practical and the useful. We are an intensely pragmatic people and we got that way early in our development, the author quite sensibly argues.

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The origins of democratic principles interest Boorstin, and he makes some of his most acute comments in this area. It has not been popular, in recent years at any rate, to say good things about the slaveholding aristocracy of Virginia, yet Boorstin shrewdly observes that the Virginia ruling class probably contributed more to the development of a workable representative government than the much-advertised New England town meetings. "But the ways of history are obscure and even self-contradictory," he observes, and, despite the irony of the situation, he thinks the Virginia aristocrats made a positive contribution to democracy because they pursued a practical and workable plan of government free of dogmatic theory. They had "inoculated themselves against all strong viruses; they, least of all people, sought to grasp the truths—whether of religion, of government, or of society—suddenly and as a whole. Their empirical, and even their reforming, spirit was grown in the tobacco-soil of Virginia, and not in the corrosive absolutes which poured out of Europe in their century."

The colonials who set the pattern of future Americans were the ones who eschewed dogma and put aside all absolutes, Boorstin insists. This pragmatic quality, indeed, was the essential ingredient of the new American whom he describes. The Quakers failed, he insists, to establish themselves as a successful governing group in Pennsylvania, whatever their economic prosperity may have been, because of their dogmatism. "Quakers made a dogma of the absence of dogma," he comments. ". . . The Quaker was haunted by fear that every compromise was a defeat, that to modify anything might be to lose everything." Success in government would come to those who were flexible and compromised with the realities of life in the New World.

In the space of a brief review one cannot do justice to the arresting statements that appear on nearly every page of Boorstin's book. If the specialist cannot accept all of his generalizations and conclusions, he would do well to consider them afresh in the light of the new evidence that colonial scholars have brought to light in the past two decades. Boorstin performs a valuable service in emphasizing a fresh point of view and forcing readers to justify their prejudices if they cannot be persuaded by his comments to amend their thinking. Perhaps Boorstin might have been more persuasive had he been less inclined to overstatement and oversimplification. He is also occasionally careless in detail, as for example in assigning to Mr. Lyman Butterfield, the editor of the Adams Papers, the editorship of the Franklin Papers. The author cannot be held responsible for the extravagant nonsense that a Madison Avenue minion wrote for the dust jacket, which may prejudice some readers unfavorably. This book deserves a careful reading by everyone with a serious interest in colonial history. It is written with ease and clarity.

Folger Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

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THE HERITAGE OF THE MIDDLE WEST. Edited by *John J. Murray*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 303. $4.00.)

TWELVE scholars concerned with the heritage of the Middle West read a series of stimulating papers at Coe College. These papers are the chapters of this book. In it a number of new viewpoints are expressed about phases of Middle Western development. One or more chapters will appeal to each reader interested in American history. Quite likely most of the chapters will prove interesting to all readers.

Particularly significant is the emphasis of John D. Hicks upon the industrialized Middle West of more recent years. The narrative of the experiences of European refugees in the Middle West by Václav L. Beneš is particularly timely. It indicates that the pioneers were not the only ones to find opportunity in the interior of the United States. John T. Flanagan gives an able survey of the literature of the Midwest.

The authors are in disagreement as to the region about which they were writing. Hicks writes about the twelve north central states from Ohio to Kansas and Nebraska. Eugene Kingman, on the contrary, in his discussion of art, seems to include chiefly the Great Plains. But there is more serious disagreement in the points of view expressed by different writers. Ray L. Billington, confining his paper to Iowa, accepts the interpretation of the frontier advanced by Henry Nash Smith in *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. The heritage of the frontier in Iowa is pictured as one created largely by speculators and farm laborers. It left the people unprepared for modern problems. "With its unrivaled riches still only partially tapped, with almost half its population unable to buy excessively priced lands and reduced to the menial status of tenants or farmers, and with the more energetic renters fleeing still farther westward in hope of finding a purchasable farm, the region was saddled with a heritage of debt and dissatisfaction rather than one of prosperity and hope."

In the next article, Paul Sharp, a resident of Iowa, writes: "Within a century American enterprise transformed a mid-continental region from a wilderness sustaining fewer than 100,000 aborigines to a complex, dynamic economy supporting 37,000,000 people and producing industrial and agricultural surpluses that seek national and international markets." To one the heritage was debt and dissatisfaction, to another it was progress from poverty to prosperity.

In its historical outlook the volume seems to have a conservative rather than a liberal tone. The European background rather than the frontier is given first place. The name of Frederick Jackson Turner is omitted from the index although he is referred to at least twice. Emphasis seems to be upon the conservative character of the farm movement and American labor. The work will stimulate readers to think about their heritage, but it scarcely gives a clear picture of that inheritance.

Indiana University JOHN D. BARNHART

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PROPHET OF LIBERTY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. By *Oscar Sherwin*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 814. $10.00.)

THIS biography describes the life and times of Boston's greatest orator and reform agitator. Born into the Beacon Hill aristocracy, Phillips sacrificed social status and an assured political career to espouse the pariah cause of antislavery. In ante bellum years he was "Abolition's Golden Trumpet," and in lesser degree he was identified with women's rights and temperance agitation. After the Reconstruction era he championed labor reform, greenbackism, and universal suffrage. Fanatical but eloquent, throughout his life he was a leading figure on national lyceum circuits.

This is the fifth biography of Wendell Phillips. It differs from its predecessors chiefly in broader research, in lively narration, and in portrayal of the social and political milieu. Nevertheless, despite much detail and excessive quotation, there is little that is new. The volume is descriptive rather than analytical, and the delineation of Phillips is obscured by the clutter of data. Its strongest aspect treats the promulgation of radical antislavery dogma and the mob incidents that enabled abolitionists to identify their goal with civil rights issues. The weakest aspect concerns the orator's post-Reconstruction career. Both research and interpretation of Phillips' last reform efforts, especially the labor and greenback enterprises, seem superficial.

This volume contains 662 pages of narrative, an appendix of twenty pages, footnotes aggregating eighty-five pages, and a bibliography of fifty pages. Both text and notes show familiarity with printed sources and secondary accounts, but research in contemporary newspapers and especially in manuscript collections is inadequate. Careful perusal of the Weston Papers and of Edmund Quincy's journals and correspondence would have provided much useful information on Phillips' relationships with other reformers as well as upon his personal activities. A more detailed study of the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* might have enabled consideration of Phillips' contributions—both anonymous and signed—to antislavery editorial policy.

This is a partisan book, but honestly and admittedly so. The author is vehemently proabolitionist and pro-Negro, and his bias especially conditions interpretation of the coming of the Civil War and of the Reconstruction period. It is not surprising that the volume is dedicated "To the Colored Citizens of this Land to whom Wendell Phillips was always a Friend." As a passionate champion of the orator, Dr. Sherwin admits only minor weaknesses in his hero. Although he depicts Phillips as devoted to reform ideas, he does not mention that the agitator failed to originate anything new. It remains for the reader to conclude, on the basis of multifarious quotations, that Phillips was but an eloquent sounding board.

University of Wisconsin ROMAN J. ZORN

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THE LINCOLN NOBODY KNOWS. By *Richard N. Current.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. c. 1958. Pp. x, 314. $5.50.)

THE image of Lincoln, blurred by conflicting, contentious, contradictory, and often unsupported evidence, has evoked this brilliantly executed "portrait in contrasts." It is, as Professor Current insists, "an essay in the uncertain, the undecided, the unknown." Expounded are such disputed subjects as Mr. Lincoln's ancestry, his mysticism, his romantic adventures, his domestic felicity, his attitude toward the Crittenden Compromise and the relief of Sumter, his military leadership, his exercise of political powers, his abolitionism, his clemency, his peace terms, and the myths which have grown so thickly around him. The author concedes that "with all this scholarly effort, it would seem to be a relatively simple matter for someone to condense the findings of the specialists and wrap up these conclusions in a single package, a Lincoln biography to end all Lincoln biographies. The trouble is, the scholars disagree. They differ at many points in their analyses both of events and of personalities. That is one reason why so much is written on the subject. A great deal of the Lincoln literature is controversial, and controversy begets more controversy."

Current sits neither as judge, nor chancellor, nor referee, but only as careful appraiser, occasionally, to be sure, reporting a conclusion of his own, but then only with the distinct understanding that it represents "fallible opinion rather than incontrovertible fact." The result is a work of enlivened learning which should gratefully be given an honored place beside David Donald's *Lincoln Reconsidered* and Benjamin P. Thomas' *Portrait for Posterity.*

Library of Congress DAVID C. MEARNS

E. L. GODKIN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1865–1900. By *William M. Armstrong.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. Pp. 268. $5.00.)

THIS book deals rather roughly with Edwin Lawrence Godkin. It appears that he was "a poor journalist. He had almost no head for the administrative details necessary to the running of a daily newspaper." He "seldom made retractions or acknowledged corrections." He was a snob, and "there was," for example, "a direct relationship between the editor's class consciousness and his life-long pursuit of that nineteenth-century chimera, Civil Service Reform." His zeal to eliminate sentiment from government was "Prussian." His reasoning with regard to the Alabama claims "became so tortured as almost to invite the suspicion that he harbored a special interest." With regard to the immigration of Chinese laborers, "as usual, he had no remedy to offer." He was filled with "racial pride." He was at times "intemperate" in his writings, and possibly otherwise. To him "everything, even patriotism, had its price tag." On one occasion, he was "as usual intent on being misled." He confused "competence in dress and manners

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with character and statesmanlike vision." These are some of the judgments offered by Professor Armstrong.

Now in some ways these judgments are a useful corrective to the extremely sentimental view of Godkin expressed by Rollo Ogden, and to the highly favorable view of him presented by Professor Nevins. Godkin *was* at times intemperate. His dislike of James G. Blaine amounted to a phobia, though there have been other writers who have found a good deal to criticize in the man from Maine. He was, like most journalists who write from day to day or week to week, capable of great inconsistencies. He was untouched by the deeper social problems of the day, the problem of labor, for example. He was altogether too much the advocate of laissez faire to be attractive to the student writing in the middle of the twentieth century.

But the question may well be raised whether Godkin's reactions to international affairs were as perverse as Armstrong would have us believe. No historian is likely to quarrel with him very seriously because he disliked President Grant's policy for the annexation of the Dominican Republic. He was not right on all the details of the question of the Alabama arbitration, but he did come to see that the American attempt to hold Great Britain responsible for indirect damages caused by the depredations of the Confederate cruiser was unwise. He wobbled on the question of the French intervention in Mexico, but he was opposed to American intervention, and the French were expelled without such intervention becoming necessary. He thought Blaine at times blustered, and at times he did bluster. He disliked Cleveland's Venezuela message of 1895, with its challenge to Great Britain, and many other persons, including some historians, have had the same reaction. Not all of his reactions were sound, and Armstrong has done well to point out some of his errors. But in doing so he has, perhaps, distorted the large picture. And he has dealt very cursorily, indeed, with Godkin's position with regard to the Spanish-American War.

There is much new material in this book. There is every evidence of wide research. The style is clear and readable. But one wishes that its author had been able to take a more balanced view of one who was admittedly one of the great editorial writers of his time.

Cornell University DEXTER PERKINS

THE PARADOX OF PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT. By *David W. Noble.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 272. $6.00.)

"LIBERAL" thought is based on the premise of the inherent goodness of human nature. The paradox that Mr. Noble finds in progressive thinking is that this inherent goodness was to be released not by a return to the primitive, as advocated by the French philosophers of the eighteenth century or the American Turnerians of the late nineteenth, but by the mechanisms of a perfected industrial civilization.

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In essays on Herbert Croly, James Mark Baldwin, Charles H. Cooley, T. H. Johnson, H. D. Lloyd, Richard T. Ely, Simon Patten, Thorstein Veblen, and Walter Rauschenbusch, Noble shows their common adherence to faith in the progress of society.

Developing industrialism offered the prospect of a democratic society of plenty. These optimists felt sure that man, with God's help, could reform the institutions of the ages of scarcity and allow natural instincts for cooperation and workmanship to mould a good society. As Noble puts it, these Americans wanted "freedom from history," a society that in some revolutionary way would demolish its own past. It is not surprising that this generation bequeathed not "tools of understanding" but useless affirmations to their successors.

Although the writers differed in religious ideas, each man was led to assume an ideal or divine conception of the human order that was in process of being achieved. Croly and Veblen put more faith in man, Croly in the socialized individual and Veblen in natural instincts, while Johnson and Rauschenbusch spoke with clerical authority of God's will, but Christian morality ran through all of this body of thought.

Noble is a deft and artistic expounder of ideas. Since he writes better than most of the men he is discussing he may be excused a good deal of paraphrasing, but the phraseology of thought is so personal that more frequent direct quotation could give the reader added satisfaction and a greater assurance that unwanted angularities were not being streamlined to fit an argument. Although the thought of his subjects could be contrasted in many ways—as, for example, Croly's Hegelianism against Baldwin's rigorous individualism—the similarities that Noble emphasizes appear sound and important. He achieves new clarity in understanding the bases of progressive thought.

The effect of the book might have been stronger had it been written around the ideas themselves and their pervasiveness as exemplified by these and other scholars. As it is, the first chapters, in particular, appear to be a set of essays related to each other after their initial composition. While Carl Becker was unquestionably a clear and provocative thinker on problems of science, progress, and history, his importance in progressive thought was slight, and to begin and end with emphasis as Becker seems out of context.

In part my criticism illustrates the conflict between one who would gauge thought by its social importance and the author who inclines to weight it on the basis of its coherence in a chain of ideas. From this latter standpoint, Becker adds perspective, and Baldwin illustrates better than more influential writers the problems of a man impelled to resolve the paradox of progressive thought in terms of formal philosophy.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

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THE ERA OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1900–1912. By *George E. Mowry.* [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xvi, 300. $5.00.)

WITH judicious affection George E. Mowry has executed the three tasks he set for himself in this concise and thoughtful volume in the New American Nation Series. He has traced the history of the United States during a dozen important years from September, 1901, to June, 1912, where he stopped in the middle of his denouement in order to avoid duplicating the first chapter of the next volume in the series; he has analyzed the origins and nature of the progressive movement; he has re-evaluated Theodore Roosevelt, whose confident spirit ruled an ebullient decade of American life.

This book is so good that it tempts the reviewer simply to list fourteen synonyms for "excellent" and alongside each to place the title of one of the chapters. Two of those chapters are especially striking: "Political America" provides an outstanding analysis of the spectrum of political thought at the turn of the century; "The Progressive Profile" describes incisively the nature of the middle-class reform movement that Professor Mowry has studied so long and so fruitfully.

Like his treatment of intellectual and social matters, the author's sensitivity to people continually enriches his narrative. Among his effective biographical sketches, the most important are those of Roosevelt and Taft. Mowry, who has amended some of his earlier judgments of Roosevelt, has here given him large credit for his political skill, his conception of the presidency, and his developing perceptions about society, yet he has also chided Roosevelt appropriately for those limitations of character and lapses in performance that kept him from the greatness to which he aspired. Roosevelt appears in this study neither as a liberal nor as a conservative, but as what he undoubtedly was, a characteristic progressive with a strong partisan instinct. Taft, in contrast, emerges as a rather lazy, essentially ineffective executive, an honest, conservative man who was by temperament unfit for the presidency, not at all the figure Henry Pringle once created in order to damage Roosevelt's reputation.

Throughout the book Mowry has relied upon his own extensive research in the significant manuscript sources of the period, and upon his own imaginative historical intelligence. Occasionally, however, he has left unresolved contradictory interpretations of controversial episodes, like the Venezuelan crisis of 1902. His readers, one suspects, would value his opinion, and in the case of the Venezuelan crisis, the weight of the arguments thus far produced seems to be on the side of Howard Beale. Yet if Mowry has here and there been cautious, he has more often been bold and original. In his preface he graciously acknowledges the "work and views of many people," but he has been his own architect, his own contractor, and his authoritative product demonstrates anew the indispensability of archival work for the understanding and writing of history. The high standards of his scholar-

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ship, the ease of his prose, and the unfailing good humor of his argument make this book a memorable contribution to the literature of American history.

Yale University JOHN M. BLUM

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICS, 1900–1918. By *Marc Karson*. Foreword by *Selig Perlman*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 358. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Karson's main purpose in this book is "to examine and evaluate labor's political involvement" from 1900 to 1918. Most of his conclusions are conventional: that the American Federation of Labor's political policy was nonpartisan, that it accepted the fundamentals of American capitalism, that it was relatively conservative even within its capitalistic framework, that it isolated the Socialists, and that it thoroughly rejected the idea of an independent labor party. He differs from earlier scholars in this field in two respects, one minor and one major. The minor difference is his conclusion that the AFL, while remaining nonpartisan, was from 1906 actually closer to the Democratic party than other historians have acknowledged. This reviewer thinks that Karson amply supports this conclusion. The major difference is the contention that the antisocialist position of the Roman Catholic Church was an important influence within the labor movement.

The whole book is based upon primary sources, but the first eight of the ten chapters add little information about the history of organized labor not already available in secondary literature. In his ninth chapter, "The Roman Catholic Church and American Labor Unions," which constitutes almost one-fourth of the total text, the author exploits new materials and makes a real contribution to American labor history. He traces the Church's opposition to socialism from Pope Leo XIII and describes in detail the efforts of American Catholics to apply the policies enunciated in *Rerum novarum*. About one-half the AFL membership before World War I was Roman Catholic, and the Church's attitude toward what was once known as "The Social Question" was manifestly important in influencing organized labor's political position. Karson describes the Church's goals and methods in the labor movement. His accounts of the anti-Socialist activities of such Catholic social actionists as Father Peter E. Dietz, Peter Collins, David Goldstein, and Martha Moore Avery and of such organizations as the Militia of Christ for Social Service, the German Roman Catholic Central Verein, and the Social Service Commission of the American Federation of Catholic Societies are particularly useful and illuminating.

The author is interested in psychological interpretations, both of the motives of individuals and of the attitudes of large social groups. Usually he suggests a psychological interpretation without offering much evidence to support his suggestion. For example, if he had offered such an abundance of evidence for his asser-

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tion that Gompers' internal conflicts "partly motivated" his opposition to the Socialists and his idea that popular "glorification of nonintellectual pursuits is a compensation for long-held feelings of worthlessness and fears of one's masculinity," he would have been on firmer ground and been more persuasive. Still, many of his suggestions are interesting.

Karson plans a second volume. Let us hope that this projected work will provide a similarly unbiased, objective history of the contemporary Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Clearly, the author's work on Catholic influence in the trade-union movement deserves the serious consideration of scholars in American labor history.

University of Wisconsin DAVID A. SHANNON

THE HEALTH OF A NATION: HARVEY W. WILEY AND THE FIGHT FOR PURE FOOD. By *Oscar E. Anderson, Jr.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1958. Pp. ix, 332. $6.00.)

THE history of the adulteration of food is virtually as old as the history of civilization itself. With increased industrialization and urbanization during the past century there has been legislative and regulatory action taken by the governments of various nations to supervise the processing and labeling of a growing variety of foods and drugs. Professor Anderson has written a modest-sized biography of Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley (1844–1930), the tireless "scientist-reformer" who fought for a national pure food law.

From 1883 until his resignation in 1912, Wiley was chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture. Born on a farm in southern Indiana, he served briefly in the Civil War, was graduated from Hanover College, took a degree in medicine, which he never practiced, and for a decade and a half taught classical languages as well as algebra and anatomy at Northwestern Christian (now Butler) University and chemistry later at Purdue before he came to Washington with an established reputation as a sugar chemist.

Sketching briefly the early life of the Indiana physician-chemist, Anderson has preferred to concentrate on his career from 1883. Noting that "the drive to establish a domestic sugar industry presented Wiley with his first great challenge as a public servant," the author, in a chapter entitled "Sugar and Politics," describes effectively the many difficulties in the conduct of experiments which beset the chief chemist in the endeavor to make sugar profitably, especially from sorghum and sugar beets.

A challenge of greater historical significance than the sugar question for the six feet tall, two-hundred-fifteen-pound bureau chief was the imperative need in an expanding industrial nation for federal legislation granting protection to consumers from adulterants and misrepresentation of contents. It was a struggle which went back many years before President Theodore Roosevelt signed in 1906

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the celebrated Food and Drugs Act. To Wiley must go the credit for being "the one individual who gave continuity to the struggle for pure food and drugs, the one leader who consistently saw the big picture." As a crusader with strong convictions he faced frustrations before the enactment of the law as well as after its passage. The later chapters of this biography are devoted to the often bitter conflicts over its enforcement during Wiley's five remaining years in the government and to his persistent efforts after his departure to have it enforced as he thought it should be.

As he demonstrates a real command of the source materials, Anderson gives the historian and the interested layman a long-overdue account of the scientific accomplishments and the crusading career of Harvey W. Wiley, who, in the words of one of his old associates, was "big timber." Less fully developed is the author's portrayal of this remarkable man as "a vital, compelling personality."

The footnotes are in the back, and citation numbers are usually given at the end of each paragraph, a practice which can make for some confusion.

Montgomery Junior College WILLIAM LLOYD FOX

INDEPENDENT MAN: THE LIFE OF SENATOR JAMES COUZENS. By *Harry Barnard*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. viii, 376. $5.95.)

JAMES Couzens of Detroit was not a simple man, and his career developed on several levels of public and private responsibility. The author in this biography has tried to provide a simplifying theme, "the independent man." The fact of independence is acknowledged. On the other hand, Couzens was much more than a truculent little man with a chip on his shoulder, and during his public career Americans were not divided into the "good guys" and those who opposed Couzens.

There were three or perhaps four separate careers for James Couzens. The first involved his participation (1903–15) in the organization and administration of the Ford Motor Company. From this he moved to local public and political life, which included his election and service as mayor of Detroit. Then he was United States senator from his appointment in 1922 to his death in 1936. Even before he sold his Ford stock and became thirty times a millionaire, he was a conspicuous local philanthropist, and from 1920 on he made a fourth career of intelligent and thoughtful benefaction, modestly bestowed.

Apparently this work has been in the author's hands for years. Many of the interviews cited date from 1940–1941, and there is other evidence of delay in publication. Barnard does not indicate how extensive is surviving Couzens material in family hands, or whether or not it is made freely available, or indeed the extent of family participation, financial or otherwise, in the biographical venture. While he has used local printed material with discrimination, he has not

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been so understanding in his use of local newspapers, or in untangling the factional feuds, the interest pressure groups, and the deep-rooted passions which affected these papers as much as the political events they reported. The documentation is done with care and completeness.

It is perhaps permissible to make two criticisms of so excellent a volume. The first has to do with proportion. The defense of the senator's role in the Detroit bank holiday crisis is proper, but when it is done at length and with heat, it is the senator speaking and not the historian. The defense is, by the way, quite convincing.

The second criticism has to do with judgment or historical interpretation. Individualistic insurgency had been the mark of political liberalism as it fought "politicians" and "machines" in states and cities, and in its brief moment of glory in the Taft administration. For neither Couzens nor for Norris, whom he admired and often followed, did the 1920's bring an understanding any more sophisticated than that of "progressive" of a quarter century before. The "liberal" in politics wandered confusedly from issue to idea in this frustrating decade, with no sense of ultimate direction. It is not adequate to do what our author has done, to credit Norris and Couzens with the virtue that they claimed for all their acts, and thus to condemn to error or wrongdoing all who differed.

The volume closes with an excellent description of the problems of a progressive Republican under a Democratic New Deal. It was a time of troubles. For Couzens it led to support of Roosevelt in 1936, and to his own defeat for renomination by his party. This is a thoughtful, considered biography. The style of writing is excellent, the narrative clear, and at times the presentation deeply moving.

Wayne State University RAYMOND C. MILLER

EVOLVING CANADIAN FEDERALISM. By *A. R. M. Lower, F. R. Scott, et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 9.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Commonwealth-Studies Center. 1958. Pp. xvi, 187. $3.50.)

THIS volume on Canadian federalism should be of great interest to American readers, especially those who enjoy making comparisons between their own institutions and those of other countries. The enterprise is a cooperative one, based on studies and exchange of ideas at the Commonwealth-Studies Center at Duke University during one of the summer research sessions. The writers, all Canadians, represent the present high standard of Canadian scholarship in the fields of history and political science. They present their material with freshness and vigor.

The underlying assumption of all five essays is thus expressed by Professor Lower: "The federal device must be reckoned one of the most happy, as it is one of the most original, of political inventions: sufficient honor can never be paid to those who transferred it from mere theory into the Constitution of the United

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States." In other words, all the writers take it for granted that federalism is a good thing, which is more than most nineteenth-century Englishmen would admit in their criticism of the American experiment. Moreover, these writers are in general agreed that in spite of setbacks, some in the form of a series of surprising decisions in favor of the rights of the separate provinces handed down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London, the trend in recent years has been in the direction of broadening and strengthening the powers of the Dominion government. This was always the intention of the "true begetter" of Canadian federalism, Sir John A. Macdonald, and, as is well known, our own "war between the states" left its imprint on the British North America Act in the provisions that made the government at Ottawa the residuary legatee of all the powers not distinctly outlined as belonging to the provinces.

Nevertheless, the new Dominion had more to overcome in dealing with the different cultural and political traditions of the provinces than the Federalists ever had in the new American state, and later there was no universal drive toward western settlement to bring the eastern provinces together. Thus although no such chasm as the slavery issue existed to divide the Canadian provinces, the facts of history and geography made the path of the new Dominion in many ways more difficult than that of the American Union. It would seem to be the economic developments of the twentieth century, together with the urge for uniform social services, that have definitely set the trend toward enlarging the powers of the ministers and departments in Ottawa. Even so, there is always the intransigent stand of the present *Union Nationale* of Quebec and of its dictatorial ruler Maurice Duplessis, who goes so far as to refuse to accept money from the Dominion government and to insist that education and the social services be organized on a provincial rather than a national basis, to be cited as an unyielding obstacle to the supposed trend toward greater federal unity. But the rest of Canada has lived through so many crises of French Canadian nationalism that it has learned to take these extravagant manifestations with more philosophy and more outward display of patience than would greet similar phenomena in the United States.

Of the five essays the one by Lower on theories of Canadian federalism appears to the reviewer the most ambitious and solid, with a bibliography of its own and a very complete set of footnotes on the most important cases dealing with the relative powers of the provincial and Dominion governments. The essay by F. R. Scott on the separatism of Quebec is an excellent brief treatment of the subject and makes a real contribution in its analysis of the objectives of the *Union Nationale*. The essay on constitutional trends repeats some of the generalizations of the Lower essay, but the material is handled from a different angle. The essay by Professor Soward on federalism and foreign policy deals, through no fault of the author, with less important material.

The final essay, which attempts a comparison between Canadian federalism

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and the new West Indian confederation, seems to this reviewer somewhat far-fetched. It is the fashion of British writers at the present time to write with enthusiasm and pride of the new experiments in self-government in those parts of the colonial world that were formerly controlled from London and that have had comparatively small experience with Anglo-Saxon parliamentary institutions. This rejoicing seems as yet somewhat premature, but if the new West Indian state is a success it will no doubt owe much to the examples both of Canada and Australia.

Bryn Mawr College HELEN TAFT MANNING

GLOBE AND HEMISPHERE: LATIN AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE POST-WAR FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. By *J. Fred Rippy*. [Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series, Number 1.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 276. $6.00.)

THE present volume is a notable addition to the prodigiously long line of Latin American historical studies that have come from Professor Rippy's pen in the course of a career of only normal length, to which, as teacher, retirement has just put a period. As writer he gives no sign of flagging. In this book, parts of which have recently appeared in learned journals, he takes a fresh look at that special field of Latin American history with which most of his previous studies have dealt, namely, the foreign relations of the Latin American states.

The novelty of the present work lies not so much in the greater part of its content as in its point of view. Its three-fold emphasis on economic factors, the very recent period, and relations with the United States has ample precedent in Rippy's earlier work, as do the particular topics to which most of the book is devoted, such as the roles of foreign trade, investment, and business enterprise in Latin American relations. There is even a resemblance between the present title and that of one of Rippy's earliest and best-known books, *Latin America in World Politics,* but this only points up the novelty of the present work when the contents of the two are compared. The *World Politics* volume, like all his studies up to now, was primarily a narrative account written within a conceptual framework that was almost entirely implicit and to which little if any critical attention was paid. On the other hand, Rippy's concern in the present volume is at least as much with ideas, values, and policies as with historical narrative.

The last, to be sure, is not scanted in this new book, for it tells one well-documented story after another; for example, of the United States' "bond-selling extravaganza" of the 1920's, of the recent development of its foreign aid program, and of assorted developments regarding such topics as the Inter-American Highway, treaties for the Panama and Nicaragua Canals, cultural relations, and fisheries. But the new preoccupation runs throughout the whole book, beginning with

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its first and longest chapter, which discusses "The Western Hemisphere Concept" along lines suggested by this reviewer in a recent book.

Rippy's conclusions are more favorable than the reviewer's to the vitality of the idea in question, but, for all his thoughtful consideration of the many probelms involved, there still remains at the end a certain ambivalence in his attitude. For example, he wishes to draw the Latin Americans closer to us and yet many if not most of his specific findings are adverse to them—strikingly so as regards their complaint of postwar "neglect" by the United States, which he refutes by detailed comparisons of United States aid and investments in Latin America with those in Asia and Africa. Yet in the end his attachment to the Pan-American idea prevails, and after noting the heavy costs of strategic bases in Europe, Asia, and Africa, he suggests that the United States shift to reliance on intercontinental ballistic missiles based in America and "gradually resume its traditional policy of emphasis on the Western Hemisphere."

The solution of the problem of "globe and hemisphere" in such terms will doubtless be unacceptable to many people besides this reviewer, but everyone should welcome the contribution that Rippy has made to its discussion by his thoughtful and illuminating analysis of recent historical developments. They ought to be weighed by anyone who takes a position on the problem.

University of Pennsylvania ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

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Books

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXIII, 1954, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1956. Pp. xxvii, 388.) This volume is the twenty-third in a series that began in 1926. Since 1947 they have been published with the financial support of UNESCO, which in this age of interdisciplinary studies not only supports but actually publishes such newcomers among annual bibliographies as the *International Bibliography of Political Science* (1953), the *International Bibliography of Economics* (1952), and the *International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (1958). These and their seniors, the several bibliographies published under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, are valuable tools for the scholar, and they will one day invite comparisons. In his preface to the volume here reviewed, M. Cain notes two major changes in editorial policy, namely, the individual listing under the appropriate rubrics of items published in volumes of *Mélanges;* and a new method of handling (by dispersal in three classes, without setting up a new rubric) of works relating to urbanism, the number of which has been steadily increasing. He observes also that for the first time since the series resumed publication in 1947, the Soviet Union has submitted entries. The titles of Russian items are translated, but the content of the items is not evaluated, since the entire bibliography is intended to be selective and descriptive, rather than analytical and critical. Concerning documentary publications several comments are in order. The goodly number of these publications in the United States entries serves to remind us that we live in a heyday of documentary publication. But it seems regrettable that formally edited documentary publications in microfilm, such as, for example, the National Archives microfilm publications, cannot be listed. Their inclusion, or at least the inclusion of catalogues of microfilm publications, would seem warranted, without compromising the principle of excluding secondary works in microfilm. The bibliography would have been more useful with a more complete index and a slightly more extensive cross-referencing.

Buffalo Historical Society — LESTER W. SMITH

ORTSBESTIMMUNG DER GEGENWART: EINE UNIVERSALGESCHICHTLICHE KULTURKRITIK. Volume III, HERRSCHAFT ODER FREIHEIT? By *Alexander Rüstow.* (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1957. Pp. 728. Cloth 34.20 fr. S., paper 29.55 fr. S.) This is the third and concluding volume of Alexander Rüstow's critique of Western culture, and, like its predecessors, it is marked by literary grace and wit, by staggering erudition, and by great energy and spirit. Its five hundred closely printed pages and its two hundred additional pages of notes are primarily devoted to a careful delineation of the major political, social, and intellectual tendencies in Western history since the French Revolution; but the author is not afraid to depart from his major theme in order to make polemical attacks upon methodologists, to cast slurs on the television industry, to speculate concerning the possibility that Hitler had a

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Jewish grandfather, or to comment on the role of conventional armaments in the nuclear age. Moreover, as the concluding, and very eloquent, pages indicate, this volume is almost as much a tract for the times as a cultural history, calling as it does upon the present generation to stand for humanity and freedom against Communist totalitarianism. The historian will probably be amused, and even edified, by the learned digressions and moved by the concluding appeal. But he will probably find greater interest in Rüstow's analysis of the ways in which rationalism, materialism, behaviorism, and uncontrolled technological progress and economic expansion contributed to the atomization of Western society in the nineteenth century and made it vulnerable to all the forces of irrationalism that have had such corrosive effects in our own time. Among the notable features of this analysis are the author's methodical dissection of Marxism, his exhaustive examination of the motives that drove the German people to National Socialism, his chapters on the German youth movement, and, most particularly, his brilliant essay (published separately ten years ago) on the isolation of the individual in the fragmented society of the twentieth century, with its highly suggestive illustrations from European literature from Novalis to the existentialists.

Princeton University GORDON A. CRAIG

GESCHICHTE ALS OFFENBARUNG: STUDIEN ZUR FRAGE HISTORISMUS UND GLAUBE VON HERDER BIS TROELTSCH. By *Erich Fülling*. [Studien der Luther-Akademie, New Series, Number 4.] (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann. 1956. Pp. 88. DM 9.80.) Herder's God, who has meticulously planned everything—"from the great cosmic system to the dust particle"—reveals Himself in nature and in history. Special revelation is surperfluous, since history is itself a revelation. For Hegel, revelation connoted that the spirit of God countenanced "no obscurity, no shading." He equated Absolute Spirit with the dialectical synthesis of the Father as Creator and the Son as "concrete individuation"; or, "divine, self-revealing spirit, world spirit, and spirit in general belong together." Hegel overcame the thought of "general humanity" existing in "State and history" by having the Divine manifest itself in "concrete humaneness." The result: there "remains neither place for general humanity nor for a special revelation of God." So much for "Fülling's discussion of the representatives of the "old" *Historismus*. Dilthey and Troeltsch represent his "new" advocates of *Historismus*. He minimizes the influence of positivism on Dilthey, who broke with the Christian faith and revelation early in his career. He never became an atheist nor a "satisfied agnostic." His "evolutionary-historical pantheism" led him to sense the need for "submersion in the past, in history" and his mild skepticism was redeemed by "historical consciousness." Dilthey's historical relativism may be countered with Troeltsch's Christian theism, regarding which he never brooked any doubts. Troeltsch staved off relativism by referring "immanence to transcendence, the human to the Divine, the historical to the super-historical." Without developing the thesis, Fülling abruptly derogates "old" and "new" historicism into a Christian heresy. An introductory chapter clearly defining Fülling's own use of *Historismus*—especially in the light of the literature—would have clarified his own thinking. Then, the best parts of the study would not have been the apt quotations from the four scholars in this monograph.

University of Houston LOUIS KESTENBERG

THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER IN A CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS. By *Feliks Gross*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1958. Pp. xxvii, 398. $6.00.) The subject of seizure of political power by violent means in the twentieth century is a challenging and fascinating one. By this century it had assumed different patterns in

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different parts of the world. Democratic transfer of power, whether by electorate, by peaceful negotiations of the respective parties, or by any other nonviolent means, has become a rare phenomenon during the past fifty years. Hope that peaceful democratic procedure would prevail was strong until 1914. What happened afterward in Europe and what is being unfolded on two other continents, Asia and Africa, is a source of melancholy contemplation to many observers, among them the author of this work. Professor Gross's approach is that of a sociologist. He divides the entire subject into four parts: one deals generally with seizure and consolidation of power; the second and third parts are devoted to revolutionary strategy and tactics and Communist policies in Russia since 1925; and the concluding part analyzes the nature of counteraction against recently entrenched governments. The author acknowledges that studies of similar nature have been made previously, but these dealt mostly with causation, examining conflicting ideologies, economic and political crises, and social distintegration. Such studies contributed considerably to the understanding of revolutionary upheavals prior to the twentieth century. Our present revolutionary era, the author believes, is an entirely different one from former revolutionary experiences and demands an entirely different historical evaluation. What is needed most today is focal attention upon the strategy employed by the warring parties, upon their tactics, and upon the means they employ to attain power. A subject that deals with current social convulsions or political and economic transformation on such a vast scale as Gross attempts is a worthy undertaking. But is it possible for a contemporary writer either to detach himself from our stormy events or to project himself into the past sufficiently as to pass sound judgment on an era that is still in the making? The answer must be a negative one. Despite the author's honest efforts, he has produced nothing startling. The entire thesis lacks originality, carries a stamp of bias, and lacks the depth necessary in a study of this kind. The work may be of value to students in other fields; to the historian it contributes little that is either new or of challenging nature.

Stanford University ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

IDEAS IN CONFLICT: A COLLOQUIUM ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN HISTORICAL SOCIETY WORK IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Edited by *Clifford L. Lord*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: American Association for State and Local History. 1958. Pp. 181.) Sessions of the American Association for State and Local History at its fourteenth annual meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1954, make up the text of *Ideas in Conflict*. The main sessions were panel discussions and the editor tells us in the preface, "Panel members were encouraged to take clear-cut and controversial positions in order to clarify the issues and to stimulate both thinking and active audience participation in the discussions." The sessions covered in the book dealt with such subjects as the importance of oral history and of local history, competition or cooperation between state and local societies, and the question of disseminating the "American heritage." Each topic was discussed by a panel of from five to seven experts, who were fairly evenly divided between academic historians and personnel of major historical societies, with an occasional amateur. The purpose, as the title indicates, was to present conflicting ideas, and agreement was not expected. Contrasting points of view and conflicting ideas were presented with at least some opportunity for rebuttal and clarification of the areas of disagreement. The procedure provided more challenging programs than historical associations often present to their members. This, plus the level of ability of the panelists, made an exceptionally interesting meeting. The panel technique, however, and the expressed intention to arouse controversy encouraged less judicious statements than are usually found in prepared papers. The

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preface states that the sessions are reproduced with a minimum of editing. This adds to the atmosphere of spontaneous exchange of ideas. Unfortunately it also gives the reader large amounts of wordy salutations and personal exchanges that lose their effect and intrude between the ideas and the reader when the sessions become pages in a book.

Nebraska State Historical Society W. D. Aeschbacher

THE ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM. By *Barbara W. Tuchman.* (New York: Viking Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 244. $3.95.) Sir William James in his memoir-biography of Admiral Sir Reginald Hall told some years ago how British intelligence experts ("Room 40") intercepted Germany's notorious attempt to entice Mexico into war against the United States in 1917. He also revealed the delicate steps taken to convince the United States government of the authenticity of the Zimmermann telegram. The author has made a book of the story which, in essence, one chapter of the James volume captured. Much of the background that is presented here is not highly relevant, but it is interesting and helps to build the case against Germany which the author, a granddaughter of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., indignantly and dramatically constructs. Research in the captured archives of the German Foreign Office for the 1916–1917 period would have strengthened the historical value of this volume. The work reflects, however, research in a number of files of unpublished American manuscript sources at the National Archives and the Library of Congress. The unusual footnoting system is inadequate; one should not be swept along by the dust jacket's proud boast that the account "does not contain a single undocumented statement." One wishes there were some way to make thoroughly reliable history as excitingly readable as this book.

Tulane University John L. Snell

THE SIDI REZEG BATTLES, 1941. By *J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton* and *L. C. F. Turner.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 505. $8.40.) This volume of the official war histories of the Union of South Africa relates with great skill and interest the story of the British Eighth Army's offensive in November–December, 1941, that obliged Rommel to withdraw west of Tobruk. The First South African Division is in the spotlight, but the strategic framework and the whole campaign, from the point of view of both sides, are amply treated. The book reduces to orderliness events of bewildering complexity. The Sidi Rezeg battles southeast of Tobruk formed part of a vast hurricane of combat and maneuver. During three weeks the forces on both sides were repeatedly concentrated to deliver hard blows and then dispersed either by attacks or misguided orders. The authors take great pains to show the bases of command decisions, including the German reliance on intercepted British communications. Of the higher command, Auchinleck and Ritchie appear to advantage; Rommel does not. The First South African Division became the scapegoat for lost opportunities and even lost battles. The authors extenuate but do not wholly absolve. There is no semblance of whitewashing. They have been pertinacious in going to the root of problems of fact and interpretation. The tone of their argument is urbane, not severe. In fact, they find room for considerable humor. From this campaign both sides emerged badly hurt. Both learned that their concepts of armored warfare on desert terrain must be amended. There is enough detail in this volume to show what supported those conclusions. Maps are plentiful, and some relevant statistics are appended. Good photographs satisfy curiosity about people and places.

Washington, D. C. George F. Howe

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Ancient and Medieval History

GRAIN-MILLS AND FLOUR IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. By *L. A. Moritz.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxvii, 230. $8.00.) Along with weaving and the manufacture of tools, milling takes its place as one of the oldest industries devised by man. In the Neolithic age people began to grind grain and this occupation continues to the present day. The survey of the development of grinding implements is a broad summary of the development of culture, and the author attempts this survey for classical antiquity with great success. In the first part of his book he discusses the milling implements known from literature and from excavations. His conclusions are: the prevalent opinion that milling techniques remained substantially the same from Homeric times to the decline of the Roman Empire is not correct; the invention of the rotary mill and of the water mill brought about fundamental changes in milling. The latter is a Roman invention. The origin of the former remains uncertain; the author places it early in the second century B.C. Before that century revolving oil mills were used in Greece and the potter's rotating wheel already had a long life. Examples of rotary mills, however, have not been found in Greece and the literary evidence is uncertain. Perhaps we could draw the author's attention to the so-called *ciste* upon which Demeter is seated. That peculiar object appears in sculpture suddenly in the fourth century B.C. Could it be a representation of a rotary mill quite appropriate for the goddess of agriculture? And if so, could that imply the existence of the rotary mill in that century and in Greece? The second and shorter part of the book deals with meal and flour used in antiquity and offers a penetrating discussion of a pertinent passage in Pliny's *Natural History*. The discussion will be of great interest to teachers of Latin and of Roman civilization. The whole volume, done with clarity and thoroughness, will prove a definite contribution to our knowledge of the ancient world.

Washington University GEORGE E. MYLONAS

ESSAYS IN GREEK HISTORY. By *H. T. Wade-Gery.* (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1958. Pp. xvi, 301. 45*s*.) This attractive volume in honor of H. T. Wade-Gery on the occasion of his seventieth birthday contains twelve important essays that appeared earlier, and a previously unpublished study entitled "The Judicial Treaty with Phaselis and the History of the Athenian Courts." The editor (A. Andrewes) has confined himself on principle to correcting palpable errors and to modernizing references to the sources. An inclusive bibliography of the author's publications has also been included. The new study provides support for Wade-Gery's earlier discussion on the development of the Athenian courts at the expense of the power of the judges (reprinted in this book). He now holds that there were three stages in this development: the period before Solon, Solon's reforms in 594, and Ephialtes' changes in 462. The Phaselis treaty is dated between 469 and 462, and cited as evidence for its period—a time during which the use of the right to appeal (*ephesis*) was transforming the *heliaea* from the Assembly of Athens into a regularly constituted panel of "unlearned" jurors. The treaty date is very difficult to determine (cf. Tod, *GHI*, no. 33; Hignett, *Hist. Ath. Const.*, 397); but even if Wade-Gery puts it somewhat too early, the main line of his argument remains convincing.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

MYTH AND RITUAL IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST: AN ARCHEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY STUDY. By *E. O. James.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. 352. $6.00.) This is a difficult book to appraise. The author, now pro-

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fessor emeritus of the history of religion at the University of London, is well known for more than a dozen volumes in the fields of religion, sociology, anthropology, and their interrelations, and in them he covers much ground in a rather superficial way. This volume shows the good and bad qualities of its precursors; it includes a mass of concisely presented information culled from heterogeneous sources, but also much misinformation which is complicated by misunderstandings and misprints. For example, his description of documentary sources in Mycenaean Greek contains, besides much useful matter, many erroneous statements about the recent decipherment of Linear A. His account of "zodiacal symbolism" is a mixture of antiquated and reasonably new data which revives the most absurd speculations of the so-called Pan-Babylonian school about the "procession [*sic*] of the equinoxes" and the successive Ages of the Twins, the Bull, and the Ram, all long since exploded. Characteristically enough, there is not a single reference in this entire section. The name of Otto Neugebauer, for instance, appears nowhere in the entire volume. These are only specimens; similar confusion reigns throughout the volume. Yet it would be unfair to dismiss the book as useless. If it is very critically used, and every statement checked against the original sources and recent manuals by competent scholars, it will be found a useful repository of classified material from which historians of religion can benefit, but which students may use only at their peril.

Johns Hopkins University W. F. Albright

ROMAN AND NATIVE IN NORTH BRITAIN. Edited by *I. A. Richmond.* [Studies in History and Archaeology.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1958. Pp. x, 174. 18*s*.) Here five British archaeologists, expert at using but not exceeding evidence (querns, coins, pottery, dress fasteners), present a fascinating account of Roman relations, especially with Scotland, centering on the years A.D. 80–369. The studies show that culturally there was little interaction, but politically the Romans, by giving native client kingdoms responsibility for frontier defense (e.g., in Fife and East Lothian), and by enrolling natives in a national militia for border duty, linked south Scotland with England forever, and so created the shape of things to come. Noteworthy are the sharp distinction between the pastoral Scots, still in a Bronze age culture during the first century B.C., and the prosperous, villa dwelling, wheat raising burghers of Britain; the utter absence of white-man's-burden feelings in Roman occupation, with the aim rather, here as elsewhere in the Empire, to achieve maximum peace with minimum expenditure of Roman military strength; the peace that reigned in Britain in the third century, elsewhere in the Empire a period of anarchy, inflation, and total disaster; the gradual nature of the final Roman collapse, which produces on Hadrian's Wall paramilitary communities of soldier-settlers and their families, gathered wholly within the protecting ring of fort walls and farming on a tenure very close to feudal institutions. The essays are a masterly collection, and, more important, an evaluation of material hitherto scattered in specialized and local journals. Eight plates and nine maps and plans (including Richmond's new reconstruction of Ptolemy's map of Scotland) illuminate the text, which is praiseworthy both in itself, as a model of archaeological method, and for the light it throws on the ever-fascinating, vexatious, and contemporary problems that the presence of civilized troops in a barbarian land create.

University of Wisconsin Paul MacKendrick

STUDIES IN THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH. By *Nora K. Chadwick, et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 374. $8.50.) Nora Chadwick, Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke, and Kenneth Jackson, all well-known specialists

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in this field, have here combined five studies in the history of the Celtic church in western Britain and one in that of the early Irish *scriptoria*. The period covered is that between the "age of the saints" in the sixth century and the arrival of the Normans and of the religious orders. The editor and chief contributor, Mrs. Chadwick (182 pages of a total of 357), has also provided an excellent introduction which sets forth the scope of the book, describes the methods required because of the scarcity and unreliability of available sources, and insists on the absolute necessity of using indirect evidence, whether earlier and oral or later and antiquarian. Imagination "conditioned and controlled by ascertained fact" and the "right use of negative evidence" are, she says, both essential. The results, obviously tentative at best, should be looked upon as an exploration by many avenues of approach in a spirit of humility rather than as a presentation of demonstrable fact. This is not a comprehensive history of the early British church but rather a collection of special studies of certain of its aspects. The impressive demonstration of the court of Gwynedd in the middle of the ninth century as an intellectual center closely in touch with currents of thought both in Ireland and on the Continent merits special mention, as does that of Llanbadarn Fawr as an important pre-Norman monastic center of learning. New light is thrown upon the composition of the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae*. The chapter on the Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff, and Caerleon-on-Usk, written with a lighter touch than the rest of the volume but as full of learning, contains, among other things, some interesting remarks on forging and on professional forgers. The concluding chapter, a study of the sources for the life of St. Kentigern with fourteen pages of appendixes, contains far too much detail. The whole book, indeed, suffers from too much minutiae, and from too much conjecture as well. The "few observations" on page thirty-eight amount to eight pages: the "few introductory notes" on page 163 actually run to nineteen! It is not possible, of course, to indicate in a short review the wealth of material and the depth of scholarship contained in this volume. It will repay the careful reading which it is likely to receive only from a very few fellow specialists.

Smith College SIDNEY R. PACKARD

LES CHARTES DE L'ABBAYE DE WAULSORT: ÉTUDE DIPLOMATIQUE ET ÉDITION CRITIQUE. Tome I^{er} (946–1199). By *Georges Despy*. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1957. Pp. xx, 458, xvii plates.) Ten kilometers from Dinant in the Belgian Namurois there was founded in 946 the monastery of Waulsort. Like a number of Benedictine houses of this picturesque but rugged region, Waulsort never became an influential religious establishment. Its landed resources were never large. One hundred years after its founding Waulsort possessed but six *villae,* and four of these had been included in the original donation. By the middle of the twelfth century the economic situation had apparently not improved; one of the monks described the monastery as desolate and destitute. Its intellectual activity was insignificant. In two centuries it produced two useless saints' lives, a minor uncritical chronicle, and two accounts of the translation of relics. Its spiritual life was prosaic. It is striking that at the height of religious fervor among the Benedictine monasteries in Lower Lotharingia, a monk of Waulsort left the abbey and went to live in one at Cologne so that he could more faithfully practice the Benedictine rule. Too unimportant to warrant a full-scale study, Waulsort has until now received but cursory attention in histories of the Church such as that by the Belgian historian De Moreau. Georges Despy justifies his work not on economic, intellectual, or religious grounds but upon the paleographical value of some fifty extant charters from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. It is essentially a study in paleography and diplomatics;

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the charters occupy but eighty-five pages as compared to 321 devoted to a highly learned analysis of the paleographical problems posed by the charters. From his skillful analysis of the charters the author has accomplished two things. First, he has refuted the conclusions of Léon Lahaye and Ernst Sackur, who contended that the monks of Waulsort falsified many of the abbey's charters in order to establish the antiquity of their abbey and to prove possession over various rights and lands. Of eleven charters designated spurious by these two scholars, Despy has indisputably proved that eight are genuine. Secondly, Despy has taken issue with Hans Schubert, who fifty years ago propounded the thesis that there was a school of calligraphy at Liège in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which imposed its style throughout the Meuse Valley. Despy contends that there was no Liègeois paleographical homogeneity in the Meuse region; there was not what Schubert called a *Lütticher Schriftprovinz*. He proves this by systematically showing the marked differences in style and formula between the charters of Waulsort and those of Liège. Like the other magnificent volumes published by the Belgian Royal Commission of History, this one meets all the exacting standards of scholarship upheld by the distinguished members of the Commission. The book will be of most value to the paleographer, who can certainly appreciate and learn something from the rigorous critical methods that Despy employed.

University of Illinois BRYCE LYON

THE ESTATES OF RAMSEY ABBEY: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION. By *J. Ambrose Raftis*. With a preface by *M. M. Postan*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Volume III.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1957. Pp. xvii, 341. $7.00.) Ramsey Abbey was founded during the revival of English monasticism in the tenth century, and from then until the dissolution it was one of England's richest corporations. Its surviving records are remarkable both for their number and continuity. Maitland and Ault have used them for legal and constitutional studies, and Miss Neilson wrote her pioneer works in economic history largely on the basis of her use of them. Now Professor Raftis has gone over them again with the more advanced methodology of Postan's school of economic historians. With incredible industry he has drawn up table after table of statistics as a basis for studying the economy of the monks' demesnes. Although he is rather too cautious about making generalizations, he outlines a picture that is becoming familiar to us through the work of other scholars in the same kind of sources. From the tenth to the twelfth century England's agricultural economy was relatively stable, and the monks let their demesnes to farmers. Toward the end of the twelfth century, however, the economy entered upon a series of fluctuations to which the monks had to adjust their methods of exploiting their estates. The Black Death was only one of a number of influences acting on the economy, and account must be taken of other factors such as investment, taxation, and, perhaps most, entrepreneurship. This is not an easy book to read; Raftis expects much specialized knowledge, both historical and economic, of his readers; his organization is unnecessarily complicated, as is his syntax. But from his study and others like it which have been and are being made, it may soon be possible for someone to write a new economic history of medieval England, one in which the great variety and the constant changes are given due place.

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

ALEXANDER VON ROËS SCHRIFTEN. Edited by *Herbert Grundmann* and *Hermann Heimpel*. [*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 500–1500. Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters, I. Band, 1. Stück.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1958. Pp. 208,

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23. DM 38.) In the three works here edited, *Memoriale de prerogative Romani imperii* (1281), *Noticia seculi* (1285), and *Pavo* (1288), Alexander von Roës of Cologne defends the traditional role of Germany as the mainstay of the unity and order of Christendom. He viewed the growing French domination of the curia in the pontificate of Martin IV, 1281–1285, as a threat to the ancient sacred order, whose twin pillars were the papacy and the empire. French efforts to dominate both universal institutions would, if successful, usher in the age of antichrist and the end of the world. Just as the Italians are by divine will charged with the *sacerdotium,* just as the Germans must exercise the imperial office (*imperium*), so the French have the duty of defending right thinking by means of the university (*studium*). He reasserts that there was a *translatio imperii* from the Greeks to Charlemagne and a parallel *translatio studii* from Rome to Paris. Working from long-known and numerous newly discovered manuscripts, the editors have made a major contribution to the study of medieval history in general and to the study of German political thought in particular. Their painstaking studies have terminated the vexed problem of authorship. Their careful analysis of the complex manuscript tradition has rightly emphasized the important influence of these works on public opinion during the conciliar epoch and later. Much space has been saved by frequent reference to studies published earlier, many by the editors themselves. These texts were prepared by specialists for specialists. Scholars will delight in the masterly manner with which the editors have accomplished their aims. Students will enjoy delving into the almost inexhaustible commentary and apparatus. There are excellent introductory sections on Alexander's life and writings, the sources he used, the manuscripts, the composition and differing versions of his works, an early German translation of the *Memoriale* given in full, a useful reference bibliography, a table of concordances with earlier editions, and a number of invaluable indexes. This edition will long stand as a model of German scholarship at its best.

University of Pittsburgh GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER

DER BÜRGEREID ALS GELTUNGSGRUND UND GESTALTUNGSPRINZIP DES DEUTSCHEN MITTELALTERLICHEN STADTRECHTS. By *Wilhelm Ebel.* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1958. Pp. 221. DM 22.50.) This monograph provides a significant study of the municipal law of the German cities in the Empire during the later Middle Ages; it is an area of legal history that has been explored little and still remains obscure. Ebel states that his purpose is the investigation of the historical and ideological basis upon which the validity of city law depends. He does not describe the legal institutions but analyzes their source of authority, fundamental nature, and mode of functioning. The historical vice of reading the present into the past has done much to distort the true perspective of municipal law. The medieval city is too often represented as a miniature "hot-house" state of modern type with all the characteristic legal and juridical features of our time. To correct this impression Ebel finds a solid basis for municipal law in the medieval concept of an oath-bound agreement (*Verwillkürung*) that reaches back ultimately to the early Germanic concept of the "peace." Hence the validity of the "city law" is anchored to the free choice and voluntary consent of the citizen or burgher community. The *coniuratio* of the burghers of the early city establishes a *pax* based on oath which begins as a revolutionary procedure and forms an aspect of the struggle between the ruling classes of the Empire and the lesser folk. The law derives from a great variety of sources, including popular custom and mercantile usages, and culminates in the voluntary oath-bound law (*Willkürrecht*) of the entire burgher community. This sworn self-imposed law constituted the highest authority. It betrayed its essentially legal character in many respects: the effectiveness

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of the personal bond, the need of a renewed agreement (*coniuratio reiterata*) with every change of city administration, and the use of a legal procedure based on oath instead of a judicial finding in particular cases. This municipal law tends to evolve and grow by accretion. It absorbs into the *Willkürrecht* a large number of subjective privileges and liberties. The broadening of the law leads gradually and imperceptibly to the transformation of free choice into arbitrary statute; it is a process that continues over a considerable period, culminating in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In general the development of municipal law parallels the shifting meaning of the concept *Willkür*. Much as *Willkür* evolves from voluntary to arbitrary, so the city law moves from voluntary agreement (*Verwillkürung*) to rigid statute. This book is a solid original contribution based on a large reservoir of unworked source material.

Rice Institute FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

BEITRÄGE ZUR REICHS- UND PAPSTGESCHICHTE DES HOHEN MITTELALTERS: AUSGEWÄHLTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Walther Holtzmann*. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Band 8.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1957. Pp. 238. DM 19.) Walther Holtzmann's profound grasp of underlying relations gives conceptual unity to the twelve articles now republished by his colleagues at Bonn and at the Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rome on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. Arranged chronologically to cover the period from about A.D. 1050 to 1200, these essays have been selected both to emphasize important developments and to illustrate various types of source problems and the methods for dealing with them. Some of these articles are already well known for contributions in special fields; the collection as a whole offers a series of probing investigations into a number of interesting subjects: rhetorical and poetic interests in eleventh-century Italy and southern France; papal efforts to reunite Greek and Latin churches and the origin of the first crusade; local reactions to the investiture problem in England, Germany, and Italy; Greek and German factionalism in Hungary; the diplomatic maneuvers of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III; the development of the canon law; and the relations between Celestine III and Emperor Henry VI. The collection is also valuable as an introduction to source materials of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Each study explores the content and significance of certain inedited manuscripts, and the author brings an amazing variety of techniques and vast erudition to bear upon his explication of texts. Each article centers upon a different type of source: saints' lives, Latin poems, various kinds of papal correspondence and papal acts, conciliar and synodal records, or collections of decretals. As might be expected from the author of *Papsturkunden in England,* the historical value of canon law materials is stressed at several points. Taken together, these studies throw much light upon the concrete details and inner relations of major developments. They also are an excellent basis for student exercises in the interpretation of sources, and they offer a number of starting points for future research. This memorial is, then, itself a vital contribution to learning.

Vanderbilt University DAYTON PHILLIPS

THE PAPAL STATE UNDER MARTIN V: THE ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TEMPORAL POWER IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Peter Partner*. (London: British School at Rome. 1958. Pp. ix, 264. £1 5*s*.) This is a work of thorough scholarship and a welcome contribution in English to a highly complex subject. Refuting the commonly held view which regards papal preoccupation with its temporal state in Italy as a Renaissance phenomenon, the author sees it as a major concern of popes ever since the eighth century. What is new

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in the pontificate of Martin V are the circumstances in which the consolidation of the papal state had to be undertaken: the near chaos resulting from the schism, and an economic crisis. While it may be argued that these and other fifteenth-century factors lent a new significance to an old concern, the author's thesis deserves consideration. After a brief sketch of the history of the papal state, two chapters of closely packed narrative deal with the chaotic conditions prevailing there during the schism and Martin V's remarkable achievement in recovering the lands of the Church. The author spares neither himself nor his reader the arduous trail of fifteenth-century Italian politics. Martin V emerges simply as a more successful *signore* in the ruthless contest for lands and power. Against this background is set an analysis of the machinery of government in action in the papal state. Herein lies the essential contribution of the work—a substantial contribution. In its suppression of communal freedom the Church is shown to have been no exception to the pattern of the century. Its regulation of the grain trade, its salt monopoly, the taxing of pasture on papal demesne lands provided not only sources of income but of conflict. On the other hand, temporal power was at the mercy of the *condottieri* engaged to maintain it. Of the ostensibly large revenue due from the provincial tallage, less than one-third is shown to have reached the papal treasury, most of it assigned to mercenaries to collect in payment of wages. It was one of Martin V's notable achievements to free himself after 1423 from the necessity of thus alienating his revenues. The decline in the wages of mercenaries attests to the increased stability of papal finances. The administrative system was not new, nor were the goals of the papacy; both found themselves placed in a new set of circumstances. Not the least important feature of this work is its usefulness as a guide to the various categories of documents in the Vatican and other archival collections. It is richly documented and has an appendix containing transcripts from relevant sources.

Smith College LEONA C. GABEL

DU MEURTRE DE MONTEREAU AU TRAITÉ DE TROYES. By *Paul Bonenfant*. [Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Mémoires, Collection en-8°—Tome LII, Fascicule 4.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique. 1958. Pp. xxix, 282.) This subject has been treated by Fresne de Beaucourt from the French point of view, and by Wylie and Waugh from the English. Bonenfant approaches it from a Burgundian angle. In so doing he summarizes previous scholarly interpretations of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and reasserts the one he himself advanced in his *Philippe le Bon* in 1943. The present volume is intended to demonstrate in detail his thesis "que le jeune duc, en concluant cette alliance, n'avait eu d'autres préoccupations que celles d'un chef de parti français." Possibly he saw some similarity between Pétain's dealings with Hitler and Philip's with Henry V, but this is merely suggested somewhat obliquely without elaboration. Students of fifteen-century diplomacy should couple this work with Dickinson's *The Congress of Arras*. The latter describes the reversal of that Burgundian policy whose beginning Bonenfant is explaining. Both books aim to show how diplomatic situations were handled a century before Machiavelli. Both have drawn extensively upon the resources of central and local archives. But Bonenfant deals with a more complicated situation requiring more frequent exercise of historical imagination, and he does this convincingly. He emphasizes the extent to which policy and personal interest were merged. The day-by-day course of events is elaborated. It is characteristic of this period that there is a multiplicity of documents—too many for easy interpretation and not sufficiently informative to be clear. This requires from the author scholarly interpretations and hypotheses which students of the period will find interesting. They can sympathize with the

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author's problems in extracting probabilities from messengers' records that give no indication of the purport of the messages as well as of financial payments for vaguely specified purposes, and with his efforts to make living characters of a large personnel about whom there is fairly extensive but not very enlightening data. The book has an appendix of twenty-six unpublished documents (sixty pages), a good index, and a bibliography of nearly three hundred titles.

Williamstown, Massachusetts RICHARD A. NEWHALL

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

KING JAMES IV OF SCOTLAND: A BRIEF SURVEY OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *R. L. Mackie.* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1958. Pp. 300. $4.50.) This excellently written life of James IV helps to fill a yawning gap in Scottish historiography; heretofore no Scottish ruler between James I and Mary has had an adequate biography. Mr. Mackie starts his work with an admirable sketch of James III, and then carries the political and diplomatic narrative from the accession of James IV in 1488 to the momentous marriage with Margaret Tudor in 1503. At this point he interrupts the story to give us an extended description of the condition of Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These chapters are, perhaps, the best in the book; the accounts of Scottish social life and literary development are particularly good. The political narrative is then resumed, and culminates in a detailed and exciting description of Flodden. It is not possible to quarrel with the author's scholarship; his knowledge of the sources is profound and his handling of them is accurate and imaginative. And yet the portrait of King James that emerges from these pages is not convincing. I suspect this is because Mackie accepts the traditional view of James as a good and effective king, when almost all the evidence he adduces points in the opposite direction. For all his piety, James did nothing to arrest the decay of the Scottish church, and many of his appointments, particularly to the see of St. Andrews, were scandalous. His Highland policy, for all its seeming vigor, ended in the aggrandizement, not of the crown, but of the houses of Campbell and Gordon. His foreign policy was impractical in the extreme, and led to disaster in the long run; that the disaster did not come sooner was owing less to James than to the forebearing and pacific policy of Henry VII. Mackie's failure to draw the conclusions suggested by his evidence detracts from what is otherwise a most useful book.

Princeton University MAURICE LEE, JR.

REFORMATION AND REACTION IN TUDOR CAMBRIDGE. By *H. C. Porter.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 461. $10.00.) This is an important study of religious thought and controversy in Cambridge University from Erasmus to Whichcote, based on an exhaustive use of both manuscript and printed materials. Fresh detail and new perspective are presented on almost every aspect of the part that the university and its graduates played in the Reformation. Much as Sir John Neale has shown how intimately the parliamentary history of Elizabeth's reign was related to local family interests, so Porter shows how closely the development of Anglicanism and Puritanism in Tudor England was related to academic controversies, which only a graduate of twentieth-century Cambridge would have the patience to unravel. The

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main thesis is that the influence of Cambridge in the Reformation was as central and pervasive as everyone has always believed, but that it was not all, or even mainly, on the radical side. Anglicanism owes as much to Andrewes, Baro, and Overall as Puritanism does to Perkins, Chaderton, and Whitaker. The religious history of Elizabethan Cambridge is that of a "debate" between humanists and Calvinists, not of Puritan triumph alone. The author is at his best in describing the Puritan dons and pastors of the 1590's, tracing out the connections of Cambridge with Massachusetts, and sketching the great debate over grace. His style retains a good deal of the allusive cleverness that makes English prize essays sometimes so hard for Americans to take (the original essay won the Cranmer prize for 1952). Chronological sequence is ignored so often that the sense of organic development is lost, and occasionally antiquarianism seems to overwhelm historical analysis. But there are so many good things in the book that the reader easily forgets such shortcomings. Porter has a rare combination of historical and theological insight. He has written a book that every student of the English Reformation must read.

Princeton University E. Harris Harbison

THE SCHOLASTIC CURRICULUM AT EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CAMBRIDGE. By *William T. Costello, S.J.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 221. $4.50.) In this small but packed volume, based on numerous manuscript student notebooks and related materials as well as a great variety of printed works, the reader may discover not only what is embraced in the title but also many clues to the intellectual outlook of the time. The author first delineates the framework of scholasticism—dialetical, Aristotelian, and systematic—as expressed in lectures, disputations, and declamations. Then he turns to the doctrinal part, the arts of logic, rhetoric, and ethics; the sciences of metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and cosmography; and the graduate studies of theology, medicine, law, and music. He notes the decline of the lecture, the rise of books, and the criticism of slavish note-taking. He aids one to understand the presence of highly involved reasoning even in semipopular tracts, not to stress the labyrinthine character of learned treatises, and to see why Francis Bacon revolted against some contemporary intellectual excesses. Less somberly, he discloses that students, then no less than now, were careless and remiss, given to lingering and loitering. All this and much more is to be found, often in a style whose metaphors reflect the author's absorption in his materials.

University of Missouri Charles F. Mullett

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EXETER: A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1625–1688. By *W. B. Stephens.* With a foreword by *W. G. Hoskins.* [A Publication of the History of Exeter and South West Research Group.] (Exeter: University of Exeter; distrib. by A. Wheaton and Company, Exeter. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 203. 30*s.*) The city of Exeter is fortunate in having a group of very able historians to write its history. Thus far most of the emphasis has been on economic matters. In 1935 Dr. W. G. Hoskins published his *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688–1800*; the present work, which might be described as a companion volume to the above, traces the commercial and industrial development of the city from 1625 to 1688. During this period Exeter was one of the chief ports in England. Its merchants traded very widely, but especially with France, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic islands. Exeter was also an important center for the manufacture of woolen cloth. Indeed the two activities, trade and industry, were very closely associated; a large percentage of the exports from the city consisted of Devon dozens, perpetuanas, bays,

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and other varieties of cloth. As could be expected, the trade went through alternating periods of depression and prosperity. The depressions were brought on by various factors: plagues, foreign wars, the Civil War, and the retaliatory actions of foreign governments. Nevertheless, the businessmen of Exeter survived these economic slumps, and on the eve of the Glorious Revolution the trade of the city reached its most flourishing state. Dr. Stephens has written an informative book for the specialist in English economic history. His research is thorough, his conclusions are sound, and most of his maps, graphs, and tables (thirty-one in all, not counting seventeen in the appendixes) are helpful. The History of Exeter Research Group has added another distinguished volume to its series.

Temple University ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE FREE-TRADE MOVEMENT, 1830–42. By *Lucy Brown*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. 245. $4.80.) This is a valuable study of the activity and influence of the staff of the Board of Trade through the dozen years before Peel launched Britain on her great experiment in free trade. The first two sections deal with the political environment and the work of the Board during the Whig decade after Huskisson: its organization, its personnel and their public activities, political connections and relations to the negotiation of reciprocity and other commercial treaties, and its new function of preparing systematic data on British trade. This last was begun only in 1834 with the setting up of a statistical department under G. R. Porter, subsequently famous for his *Progress of the Nation*. Drawing on all relevant manuscript and printed sources, Miss Brown has put these matters into context with admirable clarity and balance. The third section examines the open attack on the tariff made by the staff members, free traders all, during the depression years preceding the radical change in policy that Peel began with his budget of 1842. Miss Brown has usefully sorted out the biases and propaganda in the opinions and data that the free traders presented when they had their field day before Joseph Hume's Select Committee on the Import Duties began work in 1840. She holds that, however influential with the public at large, this inquiry exerted little direct effect on Peel or his colleagues and was not worthy to do so. But somewhat fuller treatment might clarify relationships at this climactic juncture. More is needed on the economic environment—the severe depression that doubtless emboldened the staff to speak confidently in public, even as it pushed Peel, once in office, to attempt "something effectual" toward reviving permanently the languishing commerce and industry of the country. The influence these free-trade staff members exerted on government policy may be underrated a little, too. There must have been a central and convincing core of truth in their opinions and in the materials they had collected in the office on the problems of British trade. Gladstone, who became vice-president in 1841, wrote later that every day spent at the office "beat like a battering ram on the unsure fabric" of his official protectionism; and his fresh review of the issues with a largely new staff quickly yielded a closely comparable program on the matters that were within the province of the Board.

Tufts University ALBERT H. IMLAH

ENGLAND UND DIE EUROPÄISCHEN MÄCHTE IM JAHRE 1887. By *Klaus Römer*. [Berner Untersuchungen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, Heft 21.] (Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co. 1957. Pp. 153. 8.85 fr. S.) In this Bern dissertation Klaus Römer undertakes to review the history of the "Mediterranean Entente" and of the "Oriental Triple Alliance" of 1887 from the perspective of English policy, because in

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his opinion the diplomatic events of this year had been viewed too exclusively from Bismarck's point of view. In addition to the published sources, the author uses the documents of the Austrian and British archives, of which eleven are reproduced in the appendix. The history of European diplomacy in 1887, on which we possess a large number of good studies, receives in Römer's monograph no new or better light. Römer confirms once more the well-established fact that Bismarck was holding the initiative in all diplomatic moves and forced England to accept a larger active role in the preservation of European peace than she was anxious to assume. The special motives which induced Salisbury to accept such responsibilities are not elucidated by a superficial discussion of British constitutional law and of the very few contemporary political articles in periodicals. The author says in his preface that "the English evaluation of political events" differs markedly from ours and that as a consequence it was often impossible to reach "a truly English result." If he adds that "British thinking is often incomprehensible to us," this seems, at least with regard to the problems that he attempted to solve, an unduly defeatist attitude.

Yale University HAJO HOLBORN

THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY. By *Philip P. Poirier*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. 287. $4.50.) While politicians worry about the future of the British Labour party, scholars have begun to study its past. This work by Professor Poirier of Ohio State University is one of several in recent years dealing with the birth—or rather the parentage—of the Labour party. Since the infant, now grown to maturity, still shows the effects of its mixed ancestry, there is reason for genealogical inquiry. Poirier's study largely supplements the works of Frank Bealey, Henry Pelling, and J. H. Stewart Reid. He concentrates on the period from 1900, when the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) was established, to 1906, when it became the Labour party. The emphasis is on the practical politics of the period, that is, as the author puts it, on "the tactics, bargaining and compromise." No work gives us such a clear and detailed picture of how the LRC managed to function despite all dissensions. The "hero" of the story is Ramsay MacDonald. To keep the LRC going required, as the author says, "subtle adjustments, not to say ambivalence." Some of the other leaders were less supremely endowed with these qualities, but Poirier shows how most of them felt themselves forced to be expedient and often devious. Using the papers of Herbert Gladstone, the Liberal Chief Whip, Poirier has been able to verify the existence of a secret electoral pact between MacDonald, as secretary of the LRC, and Gladstone, not to contest each other's candidates. This was not always possible, but the pact, first entered into in 1903, known to a relative few, suspected by more, and denied by all, was responsible, Poirier holds, for the surprising success of the LRC candidates and the overwhelming triumph of the Liberals in the 1906 election. Success resolved all scruples for both sides. The Ramsay MacDonald papers were not available, so Poirier quotes only what Gladstone's chief assistant wrote to the Chief Whip, "Was there ever such a justification of a policy by results?" Is it permissible now, with the aid of hindsight, to raise another question, "Was the Election of 1906 but a Pyrrhic victory for the Liberals?"

Brooklyn College SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

LORD SELKIRK'S DIARY, 1803–1804: JOURNAL OF HIS TRAVELS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. Edited with an introduction by *Patrick C. T. White*. [Publications of the Champlain Society,

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Number 35.] (Toronto: the Society. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 359, xvi.) The *Diary* covers the travel of Selkirk in the Maritime Provinces of British North America (August–October, 1803), through Massachusetts and New York (October–November, 1803), on into Upper and Lower Canada (November–February, 1803–1804), back through Vermont and New York to the Atlantic seaboard and a return journey to Upper Canada (February–June, 1804). There is then a gap in the *Diary* from June 4–September 30, 1804, when it is again taken up to cover comments on Nova Scotia (September–December, 1804). An appendix is made up of Selkirk's notes on his earlier travels, together with some notes on the blank period of the summer of 1804. The editor of the *Diary* claims, and I agree, that the *Diary* might well serve as a handbook on colonization. Selkirk's whole attention is on the rural scene. He visited Halifax, Boston, Albany, Montreal, Quebec City, and New York, but it was the countryside that caught his full attention and commanded his capacities as a recorder of every facet of rural life. This *Diary* is an invaluable document for the social and economic historian, and it is replete with the statistics of measurement. Viewed as a handbook on colonization, especial interest attaches to Selkirk's account of how he planted a colony of Scotch settlers on Prince Edward Island. Curiously, his description of the actual process of colonization, though complete, is probably not so exhaustively full of measurement as are other parts of the *Diary*. Though from the historical point of view the sections on rural life, forming the greater part of the volume, are undoubtedly the most valuable, yet I found his account of town life, town manners, and town people more provocative and luminous. It is in these comparatively brief sections that the diarist appears to raise his eyes to the general scene and to write with insight upon broader topics. His high birth and great wealth gave him entrance to society everywhere, and at Albany he was in the company of "a party of wild young aristocrats worthy of London." Here, more importantly, he met General Philip Schuyler and his son-in-law Alexander Hamilton and passed a whole day with them in full talk. The pages written shortly after this meeting contain in my view the most generalized, quick, and incisive discussion in the book. Hamilton's opinions are quoted through Selkirk's natural identification with Federalist and aristocratic views. In Montreal and in Quebec a more spacious view and a more liberated style again become clearly evident. The editor provides a brief and good introduction in which he traces Selkirk's career and gives a warm and intelligent appreciation of the *Diary* and the diarist. The Champlain Society has again put scholars in its debt by the publication of this volume.

University of Michigan GERALD BROWN

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PATRIOT HUNTERS. By *Oscar A. Kinchen*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 150. $3.25.) The abortive rebellion of the Canadian provinces in 1837 was followed by continuing Patriot agitation on both sides of the border. Because open attempts to invade Canada from the United States with a view to her "liberation" were quickly put down, the movement became organized as a secret society, the units of which were designated "Hunters' Lodges." The secret nature of the lodges makes the historian's task a difficult one. Reliance must be placed on scraps of evidence from members who violated their oaths of secrecy or on newspaper and official reports which viewed the society incompletely and from the outside. Considering these limitations, Professor Kinchen has done an excellent job in describing in brief compass the origin, membership, organization, aims, and eventual collapse of the Patriot Hunters. The book, however, suffers from an inexcusable number of typographical errors and certain repetitions which sharper editing could have eliminated.

Decatur, Illinois FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA, S.J.

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EARLY VICTORIAN NEW ZEALAND: A STUDY OF RACIAL TENSION AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES, 1839–1852. By *John Miller*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 217. $4.80.) Dr. Miller's "study of the early Victorian mind adapting itself to the shocks of a new and varied environment; and of the response of the Polynesians to the challenge of an unexpected invasion" is an indictment of the New Zealand Company and of Gibbon Wakefield, the social planner. Localized in the Cook Straits region, it is generalized enough to realize well its purpose. The book is based on "letters, diaries, pamphlets and reminiscences of over a hundred settlers as well as nearly forty thousand pages of the New Zealand Company's correspondence." The bibliography clearly shows the wealth of unpublished sources in the National Archives and the Alexander Turnbull Library. This volume is interesting reading, particularly when it discusses the social structure of the Maoris. Students of Canadian and American frontiers find here the familiar influence of land speculation, the native problem, and the grazing frontier on constitutional issues. Struggle for control of government among speculators, settlers, laborers, missionaries, and "run holders" is clearly depicted. Miller describes the Wellington meeting of February 3, 1851 (packed with five hundred townsmen by the Constitutional Association), which demanded "absolute control of all the internal affairs of the colony, without any interference whatsoever on the part of the Imperial Government," but neglects to mention three protests to these proposals, one from 187 settlers in the Hutt District, one from 229 in Wellington, and another from a public meeting in Otago. Miller hints at the role of Americans in stirring up guerilla warfare, particularly that led by Heke at Kororareka late in 1844. More needs to be written of the "American agitators" and their influence in New Zealand.

Iowa State College J. A. Greenlee

THE ORIGINS OF THE MAORI WARS. By *Keith Sinclair*. (Wellington: New Zealand University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1957. Pp. xiii, 297. $5.00.) Although the title suggests the Maori wars of both the 1840's and 1860's, Dr. Sinclair is concerned almost exclusively with the onset of the latter. In fact, he devotes his principal attention to the decade from 1853 to 1863. This delimitation has real value; for while there are numerous accounts of the wars themselves, we have lacked a full-length study of the causes. More particularly, Sinclair's significant contribution is his detailed account of what he describes as the most mysterious event in New Zealand history, the Waitara land purchase, which was the immediate forerunner of "the strangest war that ever was carried on." Quite properly, however, the origins of the war are traced to more general matters, specifically the economic and social rivalry between the Maoris and the British settlers, as well as the inability of the British government and administration to reconcile its humanitarian attitude toward the indigenous population—its desire for what today would be called trusteeship—with the aggressive, acquisitive aims of the settlers. Official policy in London was to amalgamate peacefully two civilizations which, on the spot and at close range, saw armed conflict as the eventual solution to their problems of coexistence. Failure of the official line came about in large measure because "from the first the greatest weakness of native policy in New Zealand was the tendency to identify it with land policy." As the author makes clear, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the land question in New Zealand's colonial history. Hence the basic importance of this monograph with its thorough study of the Waitara purchase. The workmanlike quality of the book is somewhat marred by the author's attack on Sir George Grey for guile, pettiness, dishonesty, gross deceit, and demagoguery, even though in other respects he must directly

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or indirectly praise this greatest of British colonial administrators (e.g., "more positive measures were taken for the welfare of the Maoris during Grey's first governorship than during the rest of the century") and must point out that the real trouble began when Grey's steadying hand was no longer present. Correspondingly, the tensions brought about by the Wakefieldians are not developed as they should be in any account of the origins of the Maori wars.

Harvard University ANDREW D. OSBORN

EARL GREY AND THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES, 1846–1857: A STUDY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND SELF-INTEREST. By *John M. Ward.* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 496. $9.50.) In scope and accuracy this work is greatly superior to the only other book on the subject, C. D. Allin's *The Early Federation Movement of Australia* (1907). All that is now left of the older book is its pre-emption of what would have been the least misleading title for the present work. The first opportunity for the four eastern Australian colonies to federate was provided by the "philosophical" Earl Grey, son of the Grey of the Reform Bill and colonial secretary in Russell's administration (1846–52). Opposition in Parliament and hostile indifference in the colonies defeated Grey's well-intentioned but highly artificial plans for Australian federation. The second opportunity arose when the colonists formed a league of joint protest against the reintroduction of convict transportation to Australia. By this time, however, the colonies were in the process of being granted their own responsible governments (1850–55); the initiative for federation was thus no longer in the hands of the Colonial Office, but rested with the petty politicians in four separate colonial legislatures. Jealousies abounded, and the economic differences between Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, and South Australia were expressed in discriminatory intercolonial tariff policies. Only a few colonial legislators were ready to abdicate their newly gained political powers to some vaguely conceived federal authority, and they received no popular support. Federation at mid-century was a lost cause. Ward's definitive account of this failure is based primarily on British Colonial Office documents and on colonial newspapers, supplemented by valuable materials from the Grey of Howick Papers recently assembled at Durham. It says almost everything that could be said about the subject from the viewpoint of political and constitutional history. In conjunction with his earlier book on the Southwest Pacific, it establishes the author as the leading Australian historian of the younger generation on imperial topics. The mechanical flaws of his lengthy work, such as unnecessary internal references to its various parts and avoidable repetition, do nothing to detract from that impression.

Harvard University GEORGE NADEL

ALEXANDER FORREST: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *G. C. Bolton.* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 196. $3.75.) In the historical literature of Australia there is a notable shortage of biographical studies of major and secondary personalities. This work is a contribution in the latter category. Alexander Forrest was an important but not a great figure in the development of Western Australia, a typical man of the Anglo-Australian frontier. "Alick" Forrest, not to be confused with his distinguished brother John, later Lord Forrest, was an able bushman and explorer. Driven mainly by economic ambitions, he followed perilous tracks into the Northwest and the Kimberley. His talent for turning his surveying contracts and explorations to practical advantage by taking up land for cattle grazing became a recurring issue in political controversies of the 1880's and

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1890's in the colony. His political role again reflected economic motives, and determined his fight for responsible government in the late 1880's as well as his opposition to Australian federation in the 1890's. The decisive factors were his association with the graziers, who represented the old western Australian interests; his resistance to domination by the more industrialized eastern colonies; and his conflicts with the miners, most of them "T'othersiders" from those egalitarian democracies beyond the Nullarbor Plain. Forrest served as Mayor of Perth and as a member of the legislative council for West Kimberley. Among the people of the Northwest he stood out as that rare specimen, the pioneer who survived to become a political leader and leading financial magnate. On the credit side of this work the following points must be scored. It provides interesting material on the important meat industry in the west, and the struggle between the graziers' interest and the gold fields for the control and use of public funds. The cultural distance between Perth and Melbourne in the nineteenth century is nicely documented. There are some interesting glimpses of colonial Perth. Finally, a detailed if almost uncritical account of Alexander Forrest's life is now avaliable. On the negative side, the author seems to have assembled all printable facts about Alexander Forrest and used them rather unselectively. This produces a curious result: no arresting or particularly convincing person emerges. Apart from a faint flavor of eulogy, there is little critical estimate of the man or the events, and the author almost never intrudes a judgment.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939–1945. Series Four (Civil). Volume V, THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY. By *D. P. Mellor*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson, Ltd. 1958. Pp. xi, 738. 30*s*.) This volume goes a long way to make up for the lack of Australian technological history. Professor Mellor has described with a wealth of detail the role of the scientist, the technologist, the industrialist, and the factory worker in equipping Australia to fight World War II. Innumerable charts, diagrams, maps, and illustrations greatly aid the story's telling. Rounding out the picture are a chapter at the beginning of the book dealing with Australia from 1914 to 1939 and another at the end covering 1945 to the present. In World War I Australia was not industrialized enough "to do more than provide her armies with food and clothing, and rifles and ammunition." The volume describes the scientific and industrial progress which makes possible today's production of jet aircraft, automobiles, and television equipment. Mellor points up the twin prewar problems: the lack of standardization and the need for research. He shows why industry mobilized quickly and science more slowly after 1939. The wartime achievements of Australian industry were truly remarkable. If there was one hero, it was Essington Lewis, Director General of Munitions and coordinator of wartime industrial planning. To his subordinates he quickly summed up his grave sense of urgency: "In the past we have had almost unlimited time but little money; now we have almost unlimited money but little time." What he achieved in so short a time was amazing. But the author does not gloss over mistakes that were made. Considering Australia's population of about seven million and the nature of her resources, there were remarkably few. Probably the two big ones were the expenditure of four million pounds and the employment of two thousand men to manufacture Mark 1 tanks which were never used, and the failure of Australian torpedoes ever to see action against the enemy. In these cases the inevitable time lag between design and full-scale production was too much for Australia. An Australian-designed bomber (the Wackett) was also unwanted. Another all-Aussie product, the Owen light machine gun, was successful. Mellor has

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analyzed Australia's raw materials, her manpower problems, the arms and machinery produced. He has considered also communications, meteorology, camouflage, tropical proofing, and, above all, food, a most important chapter. Mellor's volume is comprehensible, readable, and meets the standards set by Gavin Long, the general editor of the series.

Rutgers University SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN: JOHN CHILEMBWE AND THE ORIGINS, SETTING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NYASALAND NATIVE RISING OF 1915. By *George Shepperson* and *Thomas Price*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh. 1958. Pp. x, 564. 50*s*.) A young African comes out of the bush to encounter a European society composed of canny Scotch missionaries, urbane Anglican High-churchmen, emotional evangelicals, and also white settlers, who regard the African highland as their own home. The young African moves through them all to attach himself to an Australian missionary, ignored by these other white elements, who embraces tenets reaching back into the defiance of authority made by the Anabaptists of Münster. The young man drinks deeply of these heady waters, and the white missionary regards him as his prize convert. The convert moves beyond the control of the missionary when he goes to Virginia to experience the humiliations of Jim Crow, but there he also experiences an even more emotional religious fundamentalism. Upon returning to Africa, he has developed a black Christianity, the ultimate doctrine of which is hatred for whites. And so the elements mingle, and the action presses in the manner of a Greek tragedy inexorably to its climax. The educated African, almost an agnostic, adheres to the cause because of his secular African nationalism. Neither man tells the other all he feels, but the forces gripping both commit them to the rising. As it must, the rising fails; but in an epilogue the governor of Nyasaland grasps the significance of this first revolt of educated Africans against Europeans. All of this is a gripping story, but the authors bury it under a mass of verbalism and rhetorical questions while they conduct an analysis that frequently misses the interaction of personalities and forces. Here is a situation with a complete roster of the various African "types" and the results of their encounter. The governor grasped the realities of the rising; its narrators chose to ignore them.

University of Southern California COLIN RHYS LOVELL

A HISTORY OF HONG KONG. By *G. B. Endacott*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 322. $4.80.) Before the publication of this work, Far Eastern history lacked a study of the development of Hong Kong squarely based on the manuscripts of the Colonial Office and other primary British sources. Here, in the light of these records, an English scholar now on the faculty at the University of Hong Kong brings to experts and laymen alike a fresh and important account of the emergence of Hong Kong as a major center of world trade and of the administrative and social problems attendant upon its growth. He views the acquisition and administration of the colony as "truly representative of the forces that underlay British expansion" in the nineteenth century. The unexpected factor in Hong Kong was the enormous influx of Chinese who sought the security and freedoms of British rule. His picture of the discrepancies between the principles and policies laid down in London for this colony and the practices of British and Chinese fortune seekers on the island further conforms to similar contradictions in the treaty ports of China and Japan. Corrupt officials, racial discrimination, smuggling, piracy, the opium menace, and the exploitation of

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the helpless flourished in Hong Kong despite the home government's concern for justice and demands for an honest administration. Governors controlled their subjects with difficulty when humanitarian efforts impinged on the prized potentials of *laissez faire*. The author concentrates on the governorships of the nineteenth century, and evaluates objectively their individual impacts upon the colony. Many statistics show the nature and growth of trade, shipping, industry, and population while emphasizing the relatively slow progress of education and social reforms. The avowedly brief treatment of Hong Kong and its new territories in the twentieth century is significant for its stress on the continuing effects of changes in the international situation on the colony's social and economic structure. The book is a valuable compendium of information and interpretation for all who are interested in both Hong Kong and the Far East.

Washington, D. C. GRACE FOX

EUROPE

THE PARIS OF HENRY OF NAVARRE AS SEEN BY PIERRE DE L'ESTOILE: SELECTIONS FROM HIS *MÉMOIRES-JOURNAUX*. Translated and edited by *Nancy Lyman Roelker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 321. $7.00.) The *Mémoires-Journaux* of Pierre de l'Estoile have long been famous. Miss Roelker rightly claims that L'Estoile did for Paris what Pepys did for London a century later; she is on equally firm ground when she states that his lack of organization and his indiscriminate attention to details has cost him many readers. The author's purpose is to correct these faults and to make L'Estoile available to the English-speaking public. The French edition of the *Mémoires-Journaux* consists of eleven volumes and covers the years 1574–1611. Miss Roelker reduces this to one volume by omitting everything after January, 1599, and by cutting substantially from the earlier portions, especially from the period 1574–1588. The result is that the first part of the book is too sketchy to be of much interest, but from about 1588 the narrative becomes fascinating. Miss Roelker is an excellent translator; she recaptures much of the flavor and zest of the original. She also provides a good introduction, a chronological outline of events, and a glossary of terms. The last contains several errors. Nevertheless, Miss Roelker has accomplished her twofold purpose. Her abridged translation is a useful addition to the scarce supply of source material in English on the Reformation era in France.

Emory University J. RUSSELL MAJOR

RECUEIL DES INSTRUCTIONS DONNÉES AUX AMBASSADEURS ET MINISTRES DE FRANCE DEPUIS LES TRAITÉS DE WESTPHALIE JUSQU'À LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. Volume XXVI, VENISE. Introduction and notes by *Pierre Duparc*. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1958. Pp. xxx, 356. 2,400 fr.) In 1884, when the costs of typesetting were happily moderate, the French foreign ministry began the publication of all the instructions to French envoys from the peace of Westphalia to the French Revolution. Now, with the long-delayed volume on Venice, the series approaches completion. Increased printing costs, if nothing else, impel consideration of the value of such a series. The *Recueil* was imitative of the famed series of *relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, but the relations were inherently worth publishing and the French instructions were not. The relations summarized both the envoy's work and his observations upon the land where he had served; the instructions lacked the function of report and conveyed a fragmentary picture of French policy. Yet the earlier volumes of the *Recueil* did good service to historians because the editors imbedded the text of the instructions in extended studies

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of the relationship between France and each country involved. These studies lacked the neatness of monographs but gave both significant evaluations and a detailed survey of the archival resources. The present volume follows new principles: biographies in the sparest outline; the briefest of summaries and commentary; and the sparsest of archival references. The lively sketches of ambassadorial personalities and the wide-ranging surveys of events are sacrificed to a classical purity of method. But, as the editor accurately and dolefully admits, Franco-Venetian relations have only "un intérêt restreint dans les limites chronologiquement imposées." There are interesting things here and there; nonetheless this is a work of duty, imposed by the nature of the series rather than the value of the materials. The achievement of the *Recueil* until now has come from the breach of the principle of emphasizing the instructions. This volume, unfortunately, kept to the rules.

Elmira College HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW VOLTAIRE: STUDIES IN VOLTAIRE BASED UPON MATERIAL DEPOSITED AT THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. By *Ira O. Wade.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLVIII, Part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. 206. $5.00.) For some years Professor Wade has had in preparation a detailed study of Voltaire's thought. The present volume constitutes an important step toward this end. Into it the author has emptied many of his extensive notes, generously making them available to other scholars. At the same time he has here taken a preliminary position on various issues by way of sketching out the groundwork for aspects of the larger study. Except, therefore, for its introduction, which opens up the subject, and its concluding chapter, "The Search for a New Voltaire," this book will hardly interest—nor is it intended to—the general reader. It is, however, a most important tool for the Voltaire specialist, one which should lay the basis for many future investigations. Most significant, no doubt, is the section that discusses Voltaire's method of working from his copious notes. Wade reveals that throughout a great part of Voltaire's life, even when he was away from Paris, he enjoyed the exceptional privilege of withdrawing books from the Bibliothèque du Roi, the present Bibliothèque Nationale. The rough *Registre des livres prêtés,* which has been previously studied to some extent in connection with Rousseau, has now been transcribed for certain years insofar as it concerns Voltaire. This is another important contribution to the sources of his thought. It should be noted also that Mr. Theodore Besterman, in his great edition of the Voltaire *Correspondence* (II, 340), has already announced his intention to publish completely these unique and little-known records. An appendix to Wade's volume contains detailed inventories of Voltaire microfilms gathered together by the late André Delattre and of the Voltaire material in the Ricci collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale. This publication makes these two great collections readily accessible to scholars in the United States. The final chapter, "Towards a New Voltaire," is highly suggestive of new insights. If they do not present us with an entirely "new" Voltaire —and why should they?—they will better document important aspects of the Voltaire we now know, and will make more certain the reader's ultimate choice between the multifarious Voltaires who have been previously offered to the public.

Ohio State University GEORGE R. HAVENS

GUSTAV III. EN BIOGRAFI. By *Beth Hennings.* (2d ed.; Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag. 1957. Pp. 362. Kr. 34.50.) "Twice was Gustav III murdered: for his own time by the pistol shot of Anckarström, for posterity by the hatreds of his

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own time which echoed through a century and a half. Even the dead have the right to justice." Dr. Hennings' lifetime of research and sound judgment indeed do justice to this schizoid King of Sweden whose parents were German and whose spiritual home was France. The author has salvaged time from an active career, including politics and educational administration, to maintain her position as this generation's foremost authority on Gustav III. The present volume belongs in the "popular-scientific" category, at once highly readable and thoroughly dependable. It is biography; emphasis is on personality, pushing into the background problems of state and monarchy. Yet the problems are there, for it was in the midst of them that Gustav glittered and fell. To the Riksdag Gustav proclaimed his ambition to be but "first citizen among a free people," though both intellectually and emotionally he was committed to strengthening royal authority. The bickering and inefficiency of statesmen in the latter days of the "age of freedom" made it easy for him (shall one say necessary?) to overthrow the old system in the coup of 1772. Yet he could not be consistent. His skin-deep democratic ideals were counteracted by his lust for glory and power, and his power was weakened by his vacillations in policy. Gustav lacked the real politician's grasp of the "life-nerve of his time," though he had a sharp intelligence, adaptability, and "courage to take bold decision in crisis." His fantasy was all too often "not tempered by discretion and a sense of reality." In methods he was as uninhibited as his uncle Frederick the Great. Yet the King's wide-ranging energies were concerned with much besides kingship. He was no weakling, but socially he preferred the company of intellectual women, regardless of age. He stimulated the work of painters and sculptors and encouraged scientists. Not only did he patronize the theater, but this was a very special expression of his personality. In the theater he could enjoy heroic idealism and seek escape from the pettiness and skepticism and hatreds surrounding him. He was playwright, actor, director, and promoter. It is with these facets of personality and activity and with the tense situations within his family that the major portions of the book are concerned, for it is the biography primarily of a man, secondarily of a king.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

THE BACKGROUND OF THE KNIGHTS' REVOLT, 1522–1523. By *William R. Hitchcock*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 128. $2.50.) The attack of German knights upon the Archbishop of Trier in 1522–1523 serves in this study as a focal point for analyzing the role of the knights in the social history of the early sixteenth century. Some notice is taken of their financial plight in the new economy and of their political plight in the new territorialism, but chiefly they are discussed in their relation to the new religious movement of Lutheranism. Here the claim is advanced that the Reformation became a further divisive force in the disintegration of the knightly class and that specifically, therefore, the "Knights' Revolt" against the Archbishop was by no means a class war on Rome. Hutten and Sickingen simply cannot be taken as representative of all. Beyond this preliminary general analysis, however, more extended attention is given to a study of certain individual knights who did respond affirmatively to the call of Lutheranism, especially two lesser-known figures, Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmuth von Kronberg. Actually, the most important part of this monograph is probably to be found here, for these studies, based upon the *Schriften* of the men themselves, open up something of the more detailed and complex relationships of the knights to their society and in particular to the Lutheran movement. Thus stands revealed the varieties of concerns and motives (national, economic, humanitarian, personal) underlying the actions of these Protestant participants in the "Knights' Revolt,"

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and yet also the common crystallizing compulsion that the new religious movement provided.

Pacific School of Religion JOHN VON ROHR

DEUTSCHLANDS AUSSENHANDEL, 1815–1870. By *Gerhard Bondi.* [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Band 5.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 1958. Pp. iv, 156. DM 8.) The author's pioneer work on mid-nineteenth-century German foreign trade owes its inspiration to Professor Jürgen Kuczynski's well-known labor studies. As his "habilitation" work launching his academic career at Halle-Wittenberg, Bondi takes special pains to set his work on this aspect of German capitalistic development within a clearly defined Marxist ideological framework. Marxists and non-Marxists alike will doubtless find this part of the work, replete with references to "class instrument," "exploitation," "surplus value," and "power relationships," wearisome and immaterial. Fortunately, the main body of the work is focused on concrete problems of Germany's (area of the later Empire) economic development during this period and the reflection of that development in the changing scope and structure of her foreign trade. Though Bondi has brought together useful material on German external commerce, the work lacks continuity, suffers from a two-dimensional Prussian-Marxist bias, and depends too heavily on largely obsolete works. The division of the main body of the work into the periods 1815–1833, 1834–1854, and 1854–1870 suggests a demarcation which even the author does not justify. While the qualitative and quantitative analyses of German foreign trade adds something to an understanding of the developing German economy, no systematic effort is made to study the changing direction of that trade. In stressing Prussia's determination to retain her hegemony in the *Zollverein,* Bondi ignores the effort made after 1850, as evidenced by the tariff treaty of 1853, to bring Austria into closer commercial relationship with that union. Finally, among the sixty-seven references cited, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mehring, and Sombart occupy a prominent position, while there is no mention of Eisenhart and Hitthaler's scholarly account of the *Zollverein,* of Sieveking's *Auswärtige Handelspolitik,* of Schramm's recent study of German overseas trade, or of Korntheuer's excellent work on Austrian commercial policy. A balanced, objective, and scholarly study of mid-nineteenth-century German foreign trade remains to be written.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

DAS AMERIKABILD DER DEUTSCHEN REVOLUTION VON 1848/49: ZUM PROBLEM DER ÜBERTRAGUNG GEWACHSENER VERFASSUNGSFORMEN. By *Eckhart G. Franz.* [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Number 2.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 1958. Pp. 154. DM 18.) This is a fertile, if introductory, study of the German image of political America between 1815 and 1848. It examines basic literary influences and outlines the transmission of American principles to the constitutional blueprint of 1848. The author concludes that the Frankfort Parliament gave significant reception to American ideas in an effort to harmonize English liberal practice and French republican theory. The failure of the French Revolution shifted progressive European attention to the American republic. Here was a living political experiment. Some disciples of the Holy Alliance tended to score American rebelliousness, but most monarchist scholars and observers accepted the new state as an interesting embodiment of a valid political idea. Of course, they pointed out that American freedom was founded on fortuitous circumstances and that it was hardly adaptable to Europe's needs and traditions. Mohl, Story, and De Tocqueville made the

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key contributions to a scholarly German comprehension of the American political system. They and other writers reasoned that the broad ocean eliminated the military problem and an immigrant society dispelled aristocratic privilege. The Anglo-Saxon core colonies planted the tradition of English law and established the primary authority of local and regional self-government. The many confessional groups reacted against regulation and yet also sponsored a sense of ethical discipline. The open frontier dissolved proletariat dangers and made bureaucracy unnecessary. Agrarian life and property automatically bred self-reliance and democratic interest. Not a few warned that the constitutional test was yet to come, when resources would be less abundant and greater control necessary. At Frankfort conservative liberals like Bassermann and Welcker referred to the American demonstration of state rights and national authority. Left-center liberals like Mittermaier and Tellkampf had more practical knowledge of American government, and they wove American ideas into the constitutional project. Most of the Frankfort parliamentarians agreed with Goethe's "Eines schickt sich nicht für alle," but American forms of bicameralism, federalism, local self-government, juridical authority, and separation of church and state were given prominent positions in the proposed constitution of 1848.

Wittenberg College HELMUT HAEUSSLER

DIE HISTORISCHE KOMMISSION BEI DER BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, 1858–1958. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 266.) The year 1958 has been for Munich one of jubilees celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the city, the four-hundredth anniversary of the Bavarian State Library, and the centenary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Historical Commission, conceived by Maximilian II, Ranke, and Sybel. The history of the Commission's establishment is masterfully told by Franz Schnabel. Special chapters devoted to the main enterprises of the Commission: the *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte,* the three series of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten,* the *Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit,* the *Wittelsbacher Korrespondenzen,* and the *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrunderts,* written by outstanding members of the Commission or by its working staffs, are a fitting tribute to the Commission's great contribution to German historiography. A word must be added about Count Stolberg-Wernigerode's article on the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* and the *Neue deutsche Biographie.* Having mentioned that Walter Goetz, who died on October 30, 1958, at the age of ninety, was instrumental in bringing about the Commission's decision in favor of the *Neue deutsche Biographie,* and that in 1943 a ten-year contract was signed with a publisher, he continues: "Today people may be surprised that with the war raging the optimism necessary for initiating an enterprise of such magnitude has been displayed. The future was impenetrable; there still existed the danger that extraneous political influences may make themselves felt. However, Goetz and his group of young colleagues were convinced that Germany could no longer expect to win the war and that, therefore, one did not need to care for the existing political system. The prevailing idea was that even after the defeat a way would be found to bring the work to conclusion." It is amazing that in 1943 a group of German historians could make long-range publication plans based on the conviction that the war was lost and that the Hitler regime's days were counted. One would wish that the author would elaborate on his statement, which seems to establish a hitherto unknown important fact in the history of the resistance movement during the war.

Library of Congress FRITZ T. EPSTEIN

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HERMANN WAGENER UND SEIN VERHÄLTNIS ZU BIRMARCK: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KONSERVATIVEN SOZIALISMUS. By *Wolfgang Saile.* [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Edited by *Hans Rothfels, Theodor Eschenburg, et al.,* Number 9.] (Tübinger: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1958. Pp. viii, 167. DM 16.50.) As one would expect from a study accepted by Hans Rothfels for the series which he publishes with two of his German colleagues, this is, despite its modest appearance, a scholarly venture both in scope and execution. Taking its origin from a search for the roots of "social monarchy," this "contribution to the history of conservative socialism" first examines Hermann Wagener's personality, the basis of his relations with Bismarck, and Wagener's rise to party leadership. Secondly, it deals with the climax in the cooperation of the politician and the statesman from 1862 to 1866, the former's appointment by the latter, and the break between the reformer for whom the social question was, in Saile's words, the "central sun," and the chancellor to whom it remained a "blind spot." Some of Wagener's memoranda and letters, preserved in the Bismarck home archives at Friedrichsruh and given *in toto* as an appendix, yield an unexpected insight into the philosophy of the corporative state which was to triumph momentarily long after Wagener's death. "The essential task," Wagener wrote April 18, 1863, "is here the guarantee of an appropriate wage through corporative forms similar to those of the guilds, which have for such a long time satisfied all corresponding claims arising within handicraft. At the same time, the right basis for the political representation of those lower classes would be found in such corporative forms, and in order to stop the beginning political agitation it should be advisable for the government to proclaim as their political program universal suffrage arranged by professional groups and perhaps modified by the prerequisite of performing military service." Saile gives a good explanation of why Bismarck was unwilling to adopt the proposal. The most striking weakness in the book is Saile's statement: "The history of the official and especially of the personal policy of Bismarck regarding the press has not yet been written." This means that the author does not know of, or ignores, such writers on the subject as Apitzach, Bringmann, Elkan, Fester, Giesen, Loeber, Löffler, Möhrke, Morsey, Reiber, Schulz, Wappler, and particularly Norbert Stahl, whose Viennese dissertation of 1957 on "Bismarck's game with the press" must at least be considered as an attempt to present and appraise the "game" and its historical consequences. Ever since the time of Erich Everth, the half-forgotten Leipzig founder of serious *Zeitungskunde,* the problem has been studied by what Americans merely call students of journalism while Germans occasionally go so far as to speak of *Zeitungswissenschaft.* In fact, Everth's disciple Heinz Schulze produced in 1931 a study of the press in Bismarck's judgment and suggested the work which Stahl has undertaken. Saile, who is interested in Wagener's possible influence on Bismarck's persecution of the press, confines himself to a few older sources on the topic. The isolation of *Zeitungskunde,* not altogether undeserved on account of its lack of proper methodology, is thus once more demonstrated. Saile, on the other hand, exhibits mastery of the historical method. He concludes that even though Wagener was not responsible for suggesting the press ordinances of 1863 to Bismarck, no one could have defended them better. Wagener, whose importance in labor history H. J. Schoeps emphasized not so long ago, must henceforth be recognized by all students of Bismarck.

Direktor, Auslandsinstitut der Stadt Dortmond, Germany HELMUT HIRSCH

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GERMANY AND THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1915–1918: DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY. Edited by *Z. A. B. Zeman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 157. $4.00.) This is the second selection of German Foreign Office documents to have been published recently on this controversy-laden subject. Compared to Professor Werner Hahlweg's *Lenins Rückkehr nach Russland 1917* (Leiden, 1957), Zeman's book covers a broader period, it includes more documents (137 to Hahlweg's hundred—some thirty documents appear in both volumes), and it is based on a wider range of the files. From the point of view of German foreign policy, certain things seem quite clear from these documents. Support of the Bolshevik movement in Russia was a major strand of German political strategy. The support began early in the war; it continued well into 1918; it was backed up by large expenditures of money. Within the larger context of the revolution itself—in considering, for example, the effect of the German support upon the course of the revolution and on Lenin's policy—the documents shed a more uncertain light. It would seem rash to conclude, however (as some reviewers have already done), that the new material, both that which has now been published and the considerably larger amount which is available on microfilm in the public archives, can be dismissed as the basis for a footnote.

Washington, D. C. PAUL R. SWEET

GENERALFELDMARSCHALL GRAF ALFRED SCHLIEFFEN BRIEFE. Edited with an introduction by *Eberhard Kessel.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 327. DM 22.) This work consists of a series of letters written by and to Alfred, Graf Schlieffen. They give a fascinating, if incomplete, view of the life, interests, attitudes, and problems of the father of the Schlieffen Plan. The excellent introduction provides not only a general discussion of the letters and of their significance; it also presents telling arguments for a modification of Field Marshall Schlieffen's character as it is portrayed in Professor Gerhard Ritter's excellent book *The Schlieffen Plan,* and suggests criticism of the attacks made upon Schlieffen and his "plan." In providing the general reader with an opportunity to glimpse the man behind the strategist, Mr. Kessel performs a valuable service to students of history, a service which is greatly enhanced by the insight the letters give into the problems of the land-poor noble in a century when the economic advantage lay with the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie or with the noble who had become bourgeois at least in his economic activities. The book certainly drives home the point that whatever else Schlieffen may have been, he was not a born soldier nor even a soldier without outside interests. Indeed, he seriously considered abandoning the military career well after he had embarked upon it and often despaired of making a success in the army. Even later, military matters play at best a tertiary role in his correspondence. Bringing together letters from a number of archival sources, the editor has assembled a surprisingly complete record of Schlieffen's life, especially in view of the reluctance with which his subject approached the writing table. Many of the letters deal with commonplace events or even with trivialities, but these, too, can be important in helping the reader to evaluate Schlieffen the man. The table of Schlieffen's career and the charts presenting his immediate family are invaluable aids to the careful reader, but a factual account of Schlieffen's life would have been most useful, especially where gaps in the picture provided by the correspondence are unavoidable. The reader is sometimes presented with detailed arguments concerning a problem but not informed of the end result. The final disposition of Gross Krausche, the family estate, is never revealed, nor is it clear whether either Schlieffen or his brother ever achieved a feeling of economic security, or even whether the poverty

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that Schlieffen complained of was really as serious a problem as he conceived it to be. Such an account, following or preceding the discussion of the meaning of the correspondence and the character of Schlieffen, would add to the very real value of the book. Despite this shortcoming, the *Briefe* should take their place beside the *Gesammelte Schriften* and the technical studies of Groener and Ritter as essentials for the proper evaluation of a man whose significance has been the subject of bitter quarrels ever since 1914.

University of Pittsburgh HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

HITLER'S YOUTH. By *Franz Jetzinger*. Translated from the German by *Lawrence Wilson*. Foreword by *Alan Bullock*. (London: Hutchinson and Company. 1958. Pp. 200. 16*s*.) Until now, students interested in the crucial early years of Adolf Hitler's life have been forced to rely on the fantasies of *Mein Kampf*, the suggestive but undocumented observations of Konrad Heiden, the guesses and hearsay of Greiner and Rabittsch, and, above all, Kubizek's *Adolf Hitler, Mein Jugendfreund*. Many critics—notably Trevor-Roper—have acclaimed Kubizek's memoirs as "a very important book." Dr. Jetzinger's study is a sustained, devastating, and often pugnacious attack on Kubizek and all other biographers of Hitler's youth. Jetzinger is the librarian of the Provincial Archives in Linz. Since 1945 he has checked and rechecked every available bit of evidence pertinent to Hitler's early life. His book is not intended to be an interpretative study; he is concerned with establishing facts. And how he loves facts! He pursues them, finds them, worries them, and squeezes the last drop of truth out of them. What, for example, was the income of Hitler's parents? Jetzinger scrutinizes Austrian pension regulations, hospitalization costs, deeds of sale, obituary notices, consumer taxes, and price indexes before he is willing to conclude that Alois Hitler was a man of industry, sobriety, and thrift who gave his family security and bourgeois respectability. Did the adolescent Hitler have a love affair with Stefanie? Did this girl of his dreams actually toss him a flower during the Linz *Blumenkorso* of June, 1906? The author checks weather reports, newspapers, and army deployments; he finds the mysterious young lady. He concludes that no such flower festival ever took place; that Stefanie had never known the existence of Adolf; and that she was studying in Geneva during most of the alleged courtship in Linz. Did Adolf, the dutiful son, do all the housework and nurse his beloved mother during her last fatal illness? Jetzinger interviews the neighbors, checks the day-by-day chronology, and quizzes the unfortunate Kubizek on the details of the Hitler household and the color of the women's hair. He concludes that Hitler arrived in Linz only after his mother's death. He also concludes that it is at least highly probable that Hitler's paternal grandfather was a Jew. Here—among other things—he points to the curious fact that less than two months after conquering Austria, Hitler ordered that Döllersheim (his father's birthplace and the site of his grandmother's grave) be obliterated by artillery fire and the whole area converted into a training ground for the *Wehrmacht*. Although Jetzinger relies heavily on Kubizek for his treatment of the Vienna period, he adds important footnotes: Hitler neither studied politics seriously nor worked as a manual laborer during his "apprenticeship in Vienna." He supported himself as an artistic dilettante by selling the paintings he plagiarized, by swindling his younger sister out of an orphan's pension, and by talking his crippled Aunt Johanna into handing over to him a large share of her life savings. He fled Vienna in May, 1913, in order to escape Austrian military service. Jetzinger is at his best when he sticks to his beloved facts; he is less successful when he attempts psychological analysis. But this meticulous factual study replaces all other previous accounts of Hitler's youth and must be considered the indis-

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pensable starting point for the analytical interpretation of the incredible life that must one day be written. It is regrettable that so important a book should be so inadequately translated. This English version is simply an abridgement of the German original. Whole sections are briefly paraphrased or transposed, supporting evidence is often omitted, and important sentences are deleted. The specialist will wish to use the German edition: *Hitler's Jugend: Phantasien, Lügen—und die Wahrheit* (Vienna, 1956.)

Williams College ROBERT G. L. WAITE

KARL LIEBKNECHT: MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY. By *Karl W. Meyer*. Introduction by *C. V. Easum*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 180. $3.25.) Karl Meyer's book represents the first serious study of Karl Liebknecht, since the only previous biography is Harry Schumann's *Karl Liebknecht: Ein Stück unpolitischer Weltanschauung* (Dresden, 1923), a book that fully lives up to its title. It is disappointing to find Mr. Meyer's study based solely on printed materials; either no unpublished sources exist or they were unavailable. The text and bibliography show, however, that no important secondary works have been overlooked. The biography is a brief and lucid account, pedestrian in style, of an important transitional figure in the history of socialism. The reader will not find a full treatment of German socialism, extensive analysis of theory, or even much of a picture of Liebknecht as a person, but he will find preeminently judicious interpretation. Meyer cannot be termed sympathetic or unsympathetic; rather he has achieved an objectivity that borders on the glacial. He stresses throughout Liebknecht's personal integrity and revolutionary self-dedication, but can find little else to commend. Liebknecht emerges as little better than a fool. He lacked skill in theory as well as the capacity to act or write effectively; he never understood the German masses; he destroyed his own usefulness in the Reichstag by sermonizing and by making sweeping charges seldom backed by adequate evidence; he was an unreliable colleague who lost his head in a crisis and betrayed both his political principles and his agreements with others. Meyer's judgment that the January, 1919, Spartacus uprising could have succeeded had Liebknecht provided a minimum of resolute leadership is debatable, but it is demonstrated clearly enough that this minimum was lacking. The reader will find it difficult to refute the author's final verdict that Liebknecht, insofar as he split the democratic groups and thus strengthened the counterrevolution, was a harmful force. Meyer writes that he would be satisfied to have raised more questions than he could answer. Certainly Liebknecht's career raises questions. On the most basic level is the problem of why so many of the most disinterested and generous of pre-1914 reformers remained under the domination of Marxist theory despite the fact that its inadequacies as social analysis were becoming ever more obvious. Liebknecht's belief that his version of Marxism was applicable to Germany in 1918 seems now almost as incredible as his assumption that what was happening in Russia was the genuine Marxist revolution. Meyer does not seem interested in general problems of the nature and types of revolutions and revolutionists, but the material he presents with such detachment suggests that perhaps Liebknecht's real significance to the historian lies in his being the last major representative of a certain type of nineteenth-century Western Marxist.

Wells College LENORE O'BOYLE

DOKUMENTATION DER VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUS OST-MITTELEUROPA. Band II, DAS SCHICKSAL DER DEUTSCHEN IN UNGARN. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims. 1956. Pp. viii, 106,

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199.) Following the format of the series, which now includes Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line, this volume on Hungary includes a seventy-two-page historical and statistical summary of the ethnic Germans' fate, an appendix with some of the important decrees affecting them, and a collection of their reminiscences, diary notes, and interrogation protocols. Except for one undated account by Geza Becker, who was twelve in 1945, and what appears to be part of a diary of a peasant woman from the vicinity of Budapest, the items in this collection are nearly all too fragmentary to be of much use to systematic scholars. The Hungarians appear to have had fewer scores to settle with this folk group than the Poles and Czechs had with their Germans. Dr. Gerhard Papke prepared this selection under the supervision of Professor Theodor Schieder and the Wissenschaftliche Kommission appointed by the Ministry for Refugees, which consisted of Werner Conze, Adolf Distelkamp, Rudolf Laun, Peter Rassow, and Hans Rothfels.

University of Nebraska ROBERT KOEHL

FROM BISMARCK TO ADENAUER: ASPECTS OF GERMAN STATECRAFT. By *Gordon A. Craig*. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1958.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 156. $4.50.) Historians as well as statesmen need the qualities that Max Weber thought requisite for political leadership: "passion, a feeling of responsibility, and a sense of proportion." Gordon Craig possesses these qualities and yet another: It is fitting that he opens these essays with a reminder that Bismarck allowed not even love to "excuse bad prose." Bismarck comes off well in these essays; his successors emerge as "epigoni" as the author perceptively takes their measure against Weber's formula for greatness: "Holstein lacked a sense of proportion; Bülow lacked a sense of responsibility; and, if Kiderlen was a passionate man, his passion was not of the kind that animates and inspires statecraft." Along the way Craig challenges Gerhard Ritter's contention that Holstein wanted no preventive war in 1905. Seeing the "style" of diplomacy as a part of the style of an era, Craig convincingly suggests that statecraft was "a matter of theatrics with Bülow." Kiderlen was a fist-pounder, and Brüning prematurely sought to revive this unfortunate tradition after Rathenau and Stresemann, brothers of grim necessity, had charted a safer course for Germany's rehabilitation. Craig argues that Rapallo was a product of Rathenau's tendency toward discouragement and that it obscured his true goal, reconciliation with the West; that Stresemann possessed rare diplomatic talent for exploiting "the act of surrender" and great skill in educating and persuading German political parties to go along with his policies. Craig shows that Hitler, like William II, ignored or overruled information provided by able envoys about the strength and intentions of other nations. This small volume of telling judgments on men and trends in German policy is ended by a warm but critical appreciation of Konrad Adenauer's national and supranational foreign policy and his "gifts of political persuasion." As the curtain closes Brüning is brought back on stage to say his unhappy piece of 1954 before the Rhine-Ruhr Club, charging Adenauer with being overly pro-Western. Since Craig's literary craftsmanship leaves little room for accidents, this must be the resounding of a leitmotiv. And so we turn reluctantly from the relatively happy ending to reconsider the good sense of the program notes Craig gives in his introduction: Both Germans and Americans (and perhaps even Soviet leaders?) can become wiser men by pondering the tragic experience of German statecraft in the last century. Some, like this reviewer, will want Bismarck to share more of the responsibility for the tragedies than Craig assigns him.

Tulane University JOHN L. SNELL

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GESCHICHTE DER WIENER STADTVERWALTUNG IN DEN LETZTEN ZWEIHUNDERT JAHREN. By *Rudolf Till.* (Vienna: Verlag für Jugend und Volk. 1957. Pp. 136. Sch. 48.) The central portion of this book, full of wide research and erudition, digests the constitutional and administrative evolution of the queen of the Danube from Maria Theresa to the end of Hapsburg rule. A brief prelude presents the gist of the earlier history and an unusually instructive final section sketches developments under the democratic socialists in the Schuschnigg and Nazi periods (when the boundaries of the community were so greatly extended as to make it larger in area than any other city of the Third Reich), the period of the Soviet occupation, and its aftermath to 1956. To a very considerable degree the governmental institutionalism of the Vienna municipality reflected and paralleled currents in the political philosophy and practice of the Austrian state itself. Although a leading exemplar of the "welfare metropolis," reaching back to the administration of Ignaz Czapka in the forepart of the nineteenth century, Vienna has probably been less appreciated in that regard than as a city of gaiety, light operas, and waltzes. With successive annexations to the municipality, a sharply rising population, and the broadening range of public services, the apparatus of administration expanded correspondingly. The nineteenth century heralded the impressive social progress under the democratic socialists that made Vienna a place of pilgrimage for municipal servants and reformers the globe around. The pace of the narrative is graceful and the presentation orderly. Occasionally pages are lightened by short portraits of outstanding mayors or their equivalents. That feature would be expected from Dr. Till, who is a lecturer at Vienna University and municipal archivist, and who, in addition to many monographs on aspects of the Vienna past, has written *Das Wiener Bürgermeisteramt in seinen bekanntesten Vertretern* (Vienna, 1946). It would have been helpful if certain technical terms had been more fully clarified. The book is equipped with an agreeable bibliography, but lacks an index or a map, and the type is suitable only for younger eyes.

University of Rochester ARTHUR J. MAY

CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY, 1947–1957. By *Leicester C. Webb.* [Australian National University Social Science Monographs, Number 13.] (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press for the Australian National University; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 60. 8*s*.6*d*.) The author, who is professor of political science at the Australian National University, modestly terms his timely, well-documented, and essentially impartial essay "a postscript" to D. A. Binchy's 1941 work *Church and State in Fascist Italy*. After brief references to Sturzo's Popular party, the Lateran Pacts, Mussolini's friction with the Church, and the repercussions of Catholic participation in the resistance, Webb explains the new constitutional court's difficulties in harmonizing clauses in the republican constitution which contradict the Lateran Pacts. He notes that some of the debate's traditional liberal terms of reference have been modified by the shifting attitude of Italian Marxists, and he suggests that the nationalistic terms of the conflict may likewise be altered by the emergence of a Western European community in which Christian Democratic parties have played an important role.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

STANISŁAW ZAKRZEWSKI; PRZYCZYNEK DO CHARAKTERYSTYKI PRĄDÓW IDEOLOGICZNYCH W HISTORIOGRAFII POLSKIEJ, 1893–1936 [Stanisław Zakrzewski; a Contribution to the Characteristics of Ideologic Trends in Polish Historiography, 1893–1936]. By *Krystyna Śreniowska.* [Society of Science and Letters of

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Łódź, Department II, Number 20.] (Wrocław: Ossoliński Publishing House. 1956. Pp. 190. Zł. 32.) Stanisław Zakrzewski (1873–1936) was one of the leading Polish historians between the two world wars. He was professor of Polish history at the University of Lwów, and for eleven years was president of the Polish Historical Association. Moreover, like so many European historians, he took an active part in politics, became a fervent supporter of Piłsudski, and was twice elected to the Polish senate. This short study deals mainly with the ideological aspect of Zakrzewski's work. It opens with a long chapter on the formation of his *Weltanschauung,* followed by a brief sketch on his views on the methodology and theory of history, in which he stresses the importance he attached to "historical intuition." He was, in a way, pleading *pro domo sua,* being a historian of an era shrouded in obscurity. It was only natural that an admirer of Piłsudski would become an apologist for a strong-handed government and a hero worshiper. History, Zakrzewski averred, was fashioned by the "great men-creators." Such were the founding princes of Poland, Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry, whom he glorified in his two principal works, endowing them with the features and style of Piłsudski. Śreniowska lays stress on the affinity of Zakrzewski's conception of Polish history to that of Bobrzyński's classic *Outline.* A separate chapter is devoted to an analysis of Zakrzewski's political and journalistic work. The short text of 108 pages is followed by appendixes containing excerpts from some documents, correspondence, articles, and senate speeches. There are also twelve pages of bibliography and English and Russian summaries. This is one of those shallow, poorly written and organized Marxist studies, of which there has been such an abundance in recent years. Its conclusion: "Zakrzewski's historical, philosophical, methodological, and political conceptions form an indivisible, closely interrelated whole. They were a reflection of the needs and intentions of the Polish ruling classes."

Harvard University ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

STUDIA Z HISTORII NOWOŻYTNEJ I NAJNOWSZEJ: W PIĘĆDZIESIĘCIOLECIE PRACY NAUKOWEJ NATALII GĄSIOROWSKIEJ [Studies in Modern and Current History: In Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Scholarly Activities of Natalia Gąsiorowska]. [Odbitka z Kwartalnika Historycznego, Rok XLIII, Nr. 4–5, 1956.] (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute. 1956. Pp. 472.) This *Festschrift* for the Polish historian Natalia Gąsiorowska contains a short biography, a bibliography of 216 items authored by Dr. Gąsiorowska, and twenty-seven essays contributed by Polish historians, primarily her colleagues from the Polish Academy of Sciences. The volume is a reprint of an issue of the quarterly periodical *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (nos. 4–5 of 1956) from which the book reviews and notes on various subjects were eliminated. Natalia Gąsiorowska is one of the pioneers of Polish economic and social history. Whereas the well-known Polish economic historians Franciszek Bujak and Jan Rutkowski established the pattern for this new discipline along traditional scholarly lines, Gąsiorowska adopted rather a popular style. Her principal achievement consists in studying and describing the impact of the economic development of the Polish kingdom under Czarist rule (1815–30) on the Polish workers, and, by implication, on Polish society at large. Her writings quite early pointed out the correlation between economic development and social change. During the boycott of Russian universities by Polish intellectuals in the period of her youth, Gąsiorowska started her studies in Heidelberg and Paris. Her doctoral work was guided by the eminent Polish historian Szymon Askenazy at the University of Lwów, at that time still in the Austrian partition area of Poland. Later, following her socialist convictions, she became active in adult education among the workers and in the women's emancipation

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movement in Poland. After the Communists came into power in postwar Poland, Gąsiorowska received the chair of modern and contemporary Polish history at the University of Warsaw, and became a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She lives in Warsaw. The essays follow the usual pattern in similar *Festschriften:* they deal with a great variety of subjects and epochs and present interesting fragments of Polish economic, social, and diplomatic history from the eighteenth century to 1929. Most of the contributions are excellently documented and present the results of diligent and impartial research. A few articles are marked by the shortcomings of hasty writing, obviously in order to meet a deadline. All have one common fault characteristic of historical writing in Communist-dominated countries: even the most objective findings are followed by evaluations which, more or less sincerely, try to blame "the bourgeois period" for all faults of the past that hindsight has revealed.

Stanford University W. S. Sworakowski

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW. By *Aleksandr Nikolaevich Radishchev.* Translation by *Leo Wiener.* Edited with an introduction and notes by *Roderick Page Thaler.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 286. $6.00.) Radishchev, a nobleman of Catherine the Great's period, educated in Russia and at Leipzig, and experienced in the Russian bureaucracy, was a consistent son of the Enlightenment. This short volume, felicitously translated by Leo Wiener, contains such sharp attacks on serfdom, the autocracy, thieving merchants, and other manifest tyrannies and oppressions of the times that Catherine, already infuriated by the French Revolution, condemned the author to death. Later, however, she graciously commuted the sentence to banishment in the wilds of eastern Siberia. The excellent introduction follows Radishchev's subsequent life—pardon and rehabilitation by Catherine's successors, and participation in a legislative commission under Alexander I. While his proposals produced no tangible results, he remained a convinced reformer all his days and never ceased to call for justice for the common man. His *Journey,* romantic and sentimental about the life of the people, served as an inspiration to Pushkin, Alexander Herzen, and the generations of intelligentsia that continued to challenge the autocracy. It is still a valuable historical source and a landmark in Russian intellectual history.

Duke University John Shelton Curtiss

MANA MŪŽA ATMIŅAS: PIRMĀ GRĀMATA. By *Rudolfs Bangerskis.* (Copenhagen: Imanta. 1958. Pp. 401. $4.80.) The late General Rudolfs Bangerskis has had a long career as a Russian Czarist army officer, chief of staff of the Latvian Rifle Brigades, corps commander of Kolchak's Siberian forces, division commander and minister for war of Latvia, inspector general of the Latvian Legion, and president of the Latvian National Committee during World War II. The first volume of Bangerskis' memoirs covers his early career, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War I. It reveals the struggle of a poor Latvian peasant boy for the status of a general staff officer in Czarist heirarchy. Bangerskis' account of life in the Russian army with its assorted characters is interesting and often amusing. The account of the Russo-Japanese War is picturesque, but less spectacular. More important is the section on World War I. Bangerskis, no ardent nationalist himself, had sacrificed his career in the Russian forces in order to join the Latvian rifle battalions. He wanted to see small Latvian scout units operating along the northern front. The battalions were growing into brigades, however, and Bangerskis anticipated possible political difficulties and considerable losses in manpower as a result. The legendary Christmas battles, December, 1915–January, 1916, proved that he was right. The best Latvian forces, surmounting tre-

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mendous difficulties, broke the heavily fortified German northern front, but the Russian high command left them behind the German lines to perish. Bangerskis records the strange behavior of General Radko-Dimitriev, Russian Twelfth Army commander, and General Trikovsky, Sixth Corps commander, in this respect. He does not know, however, of the telegram sent by General Diederich from the general headquarters to General Ruzsky, commander of the Russian northern front, ordering no help of any kind for the Latvian brigades. The elimination of the best Latvian fighting force was the result of the combined efforts of some German Baltic nobles, German sympathizers at the court of St. Petersburg, and a few Russian reactionaries. The treachery of this act later influenced many Latvian riflemen to become guardians of the Russian Bolshevik movement. Bangerskis' style is simple, vivid, straightforward, and often humorous. In some places the old soldier becomes somewhat paternal in his attitude, and his narrative sounds like the Bible stories, with good and bad examples and the inevitable moral at the end. All in all, his memoirs are an important contribution to the historical materials regarding Northern and Eastern European problems. The publisher has enhanced the value of this handsomely published book with a large number of photographs and charts.

San Jose State College EDGAR ANDERSON

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By *Alan Moorehead*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xiv, 301. $5.00.) In 1956 Professor Stephan Possony of Georgetown University received a grant from *Life Magazine* to examine captured German documents for information about aid given by the Kaiser's government to the Bolshevik party. Alan Moorehead, an Australian journalist, was commissioned to write a popular account of the revolution, based largely on Dr. Possony's findings. Meanwhile the latter is continuing his more detailed study of the Bolsheviks, which is yet to be published. Mr. Moorehead's story is readable, interesting, brief, and in most respects reliable. It is the sort of book that one might recommend to the general reader except for one qualification—the excessive emphasis placed on German aid to the Bolsheviks, an overemphasis which resulted naturally from the circumstances under which the book came to be written. Moorehead makes a number of charges regarding German relations with the Bolsheviks, without, however, citing his sources. Fortunately, the documentation has been provided in the volume edited by Z. A. B. Zeman, *Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915–1918: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry* (New York, 1958). In general these documents support Moorehead's statement of fact, but they do not necessarily confirm his interpretations. He is not foolish enough to fall for the old charge that Lenin was merely a hired agent who signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in return for German gold. But he does assert that it has been established, "beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Germans played an important role in bringing Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power," and the book gives the impression that the German role was decisive. Certainly the return of Lenin to Russia, with German help, was of tremendous significance, but except for this incident it has not yet been shown that German assistance was crucial to Bolshevik success in 1917–1918. Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, stated on September 29, 1917, that "the Bolshevik movement could never have attained the scale or the influence which it has today without our continual support," but others might argue that the Bolsheviks would have triumphed even if they had never received a single ruble from the Germans. Perhaps Possony's forthcoming study will provide further evidence on this point.

University of Virginia THOMAS T. HAMMOND

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NEAR EAST

THE MAHDIST STATE IN THE SUDAN, 1881–1898: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND OVERTHROW. By *P. M. Holt.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 264. $5.60.) This volume chronicles in detail the events in the Sudan from the death of Gordon at Khartoum to Kitchener's victory at Omdurman. Dr. Holt presents many significant views of the Mahdist state, but he portrays the course of developments so meticuously that only the hardened expert can find his way through the campaigns, petty Sudanese soldiers, tribes, rivalries, and other military minutiae to reach the author's interesting and valuable contributions to the history of an important and little-known period and area. Two personalities are delineated in this monograph. The first, of course, is that of Muhammad Ahmad of Dongola, the self-announced and widely acclaimed Mahdi. Born in 1844, he assumed his mahdiship in 1881, won his victory over Gordon in January, 1885, and died in Omdurman in July, 1885. The exact nature of his religious program or an estimation of his administration is not advanced. The outlines are revealed but the author does not fill in the details. A living picture has to be imagined by the reader, and this is always a dangerous practice for a monograph. The other figure is that of the Mahdi's successor, Khalifa 'Abdallahi, who ruled the Sudan until Kitchener's victory at Omdurman in 1898. 'Abdallahi, an early adherent to the movement, came from the Ta'aisha tribe in southern Dafur and had been the tribal soothsayer. Upon the Mahdi's death, he was recognized as leader of the sect and ruler of the Sudan. Although Holt hesitates to pronounce any judgment on 'Abdallahi, the reader is treated to a series of vindictive and jealous acts against successful generals and administrative leaders so as to give the Khalifa a petty and self-centered character. His vengefulness, in spite of the selfish and undisciplined personnel about him, induces one to see him as an ambitious ruler bent on creating a dynasty and establishing a personal state rather than as a holy man following an ideal. Perhaps the most useful passages of the volume are those entitled "The Four Elements in the Mahdist State." These were: ascetic pietists who wished a "radical reform of doctrine and manners"; the Ashraf, who were relatives of the Mahdi, and riverain Sudanese, who expected to exploit the movement for their own advantage in the Sudan; middle-class malcontents, especially "aggrieved with the Egyptian administration"; and tribesmen from the western Sudan who hoped to escape taxation and acquire booty in the exciting campaigns. With such diverse elements thrown together by several fates, the cohesion could not be other than fleeting. Holt not only combed all the available printed sources but had access to numerous letters and unpublished archival material in the Sudan. One can only wish that he will now come forward with a volume on the period that will give a broader picture and some interpretation of the political, economic, social, and religious nationalism responsible for catapulting the Mahdi to fame.

Ohio State University SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

FAR EAST

ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN POST-COLONIAL INDONESIA: FIVE ESSAYS. By *C. A. O. Van Nieuwenhuijze.* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. 1958. Pp. xii, 248. $5.00.) This short volume forms a welcome addition to the few studies on Indonesia written in English by Dutch scholars in recent years. In the five essays collected in this book, Dr. Van Nieuwenhuijze, whose two major works in this field have only appeared in Dutch, presents some important insights into the nature and future of Islam

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in Indonesia. With the exception of the third essay, which is devoted to Japanese Islamic policies on Java during World War II, the book's central theme is a confrontation between the ideals of Islam and Indonesian socio-cultural reality: "The history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia can be written as the history of one protracted acculturation process of which the end is not yet in sight." The first essay carries this confrontation into the era of the Islamization of the Indonesian isles. The author argues that the new faith was able to penetrate quickly because its revivalism bridged the spiritual crisis of the "closed community" threatened by outside forces. The continuity of the revivalist theme in modern Indonesia is demonstrated in the author's discussion of the *Darul Islam* movement in the fourth essay, the only one to have previously appeared in English. The second and fifth papers, entitled "Islam in a Period of Transition in Indonesia" and "The Indonesian State and 'Deconfessionalized" Muslin Concepts," respectively, are to my mind the most important contributions. The former is concerned with such fundamental controntations as that between Islam and freedom and Islam and democracy, the latter with more specifically Indonesian problems. Thus Van Nieuwenhuijze regards the *Pantja Sila* (the official ideological basis of the young republic) as a "brilliant . . . example of deeply intuitive, typically Indonesian, positive and constructive thought" in whose fabric "the warp is national ideology and the woof ('deconfessionalized') Islam." At the same time, however, he voices throughout the essay his concern about the ultimate compatibility of warp and woof. Another typically Indonesian institution, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, is a "half-way solution" inherent in the "deconfessionalized" nature of modern Indonesian Islam; "the essence of its task is contrary to the essence of its own structure. . . . As a theoretical position, terribly labile; as a practical position in the given conditions, relatively workable." Though Van Nieuwenhuijze's predominantly cultural, religious, and ideological approach leads to several original and highly stimulating conclusions, I do not think that it does adequate justice to some of the profound social and political problems besetting Islam in contemporary Indonesia. Much of his confrontation is, moreover, based on aprioristic assumptions about both Islam and the West, and is conducted in a virtual vacuum of historical reality. In the case of Islam, Van Nieuwenhuijze has a tendency to dismiss reformism as mere apologetics; in the case of the West, he is unhistorical in the sense that he fails to analyze the long and devious route by which Western civilization arrived at the modern notion of liberty. Surely the concept of a "deconfessionalized" faith—a term coined by Van Nieuwenhuijze in a specifically Islamic context—could be used for postmedieval or post-Reformation Christianity as well, and thus lead to a more fruitful confrontation.

University of Rochester HARRY J. BENDA

UNITED STATES

PROVINCE AND COURT RECORDS OF MAINE. Volume IV, THE COURT RECORDS OF YORK COUNTY, MAINE, PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, NOVEMBER, 1692–JANUARY, 1710–11. Edited by *Neal W. Allen, Jr.* (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1958. Pp. lxxvii, 427. $18.00.) The passing years bear witness to a continuing recognition by historians of how important it is to make available in print the records of American colonial courts. Sporadic and occasional though such publications have been, they provide cumulative and hence increasingly significant material for both social and legal history. Not only do court records reveal the law in action and supply firsthand evidence of the relationship between legislation and judicial decisions, they demonstrate convincingly that the life of the law has not been logic but

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experience. The present volume of *Maine Province and Court Records* is the fourth of a series begun thirty years ago. It contains the records of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for York County from 1692 to 1711. It also includes numerous but selected papers and entries from the records and files of the Superior Court of Judicature of Massachuseets Bay to which appeals from the county courts were taken. The records are prefaced by a sixty-one-page introduction which describes the composition and jurisdiction of these courts, as well as their officers and attorneys. Particularly welcome, in spite of its brevity, is a section on law and procedure which comments on such matters as the frequent use of "actions on the case" and the use of the action of trespass to try title to land. Altogether, the volume provides invaluable material for understanding numerous aspects of local life and of the administration of county justice during difficult war years on the turbulent eastern frontier of Massachusetts.

University of Pennsylvania GEORGE L. HASKINS

THE WORKS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. Volume I, FREEDOM OF THE WILL. Edited by *Paul Ramsey*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 494. $6.50.) This ably edited volume inaugurates the new Yale edition of Edwards' works, which will eventually include many hitherto unpublished manuscripts. In view of Edwards' influence on early American philosophical, psychological, and religious thought, this project is of great importance. Professor Ramsey introduces *Freedom of the Will* as one of several books that Edwards wrote to clear the ground for a *summa* on Christian thought. He knew the contemporary literature, owed somewhat to Locke, but was not a Lockean. Deliberately he chose his major opponents: a deist, an Anglican, and a Dissenter. The Arminians had committed themselves especially to two points that he attacked: "the self-determination of the will" and "the liberty of indifference." He used the *reductio in infinitum* to show that some reason or cause always lies behind an act of the will; therefore no man is ever truly self-determining. As for "liberty of indifference," this would mean, he asserted, liberty to be indifferent to good and to evil. Hence "liberty of indifference" could only mean complacency toward evil, which the Arminian—motivated as he was by a fear that Calvinism might encourage moral complacency—had supposed was the danger in predestinarian thought. To Edwards Arminianism was not just heresy; it was a muddle in philosophical and psychological thought.

McCormick Theological Seminary L. J. TRINTERUD

HENRY KNOX: GENERAL WASHINGTON'S GENERAL. By *North Callahan*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 404. $6.00.) Henry Knox is known principally for his portliness, his joviality, and his booming voice. But as this book enumerates, there was much more to the man than fat and wind. He made himself an extraordinarily competent artillery commander and a rock of reliability. He was loyal to George Washington and generous to his colleagues as were few other men. He was deeply religious, and to say that he was in love with his wife is almost understatement. He was a man of sorrows, for of his twelve joyously welcomed children nine died young and the remaining son was a disappointment. He was solicitous of the injustices endured by the Indians and advanced a radical idea for their assimilation. He established the United States Military Academy and the Society of the Cincinnati. He was Secretary of War for ten years, from the opening of western settlement through the Ohio Valley Indian wars, Shays' Rebellion, and the Whiskey Insurrection. He had difficulty with his personal financial affairs in managing a huge estate. Like most men,

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he was a more complicated individual than he appeared to be, and therefore a challenge to any biographer. Mr. Callahan has made extensive use of the Knox papers and always knows where Knox was and what he was doing. He quotes his opinions as found in letters. His relations with other persons are fairly well defined. His occasional lapses of military judgment are not disguised. And the narrative does move and carry the reader along. Yet despite all the detail, somehow the essential character of Knox does not come through clearly, and it is difficult to tell why. Possibly it is a deficiency in insight. Perhaps it is the organization of the material: the strict chronology tends to make disconnected paragraphs, and the only violation of this order separates Knox's important dealings with the Indians from his other duties as Secretary of War. Possibly it is the feeling one gains that the author is not truly at home in the eighteenth century; occasional naïve remarks reveal that he does not seem too familiar with the customs, the issues, and the ideas of the time. Moreover, despite his journalistic experience, his writing is loose. Such expressions as "most anything" and "a nice house" should have been caught by the editor. Occasionally there is repetition of adjectives in the same sentence or following sentence. Many quotations carry no citations. We are told at Monmouth that Knox had trained his men carefully at Valley Forge, but we have no details; and the other officers in the artillery get scant mention. If this is not the definitive biography of Henry Knox, it is easily the best to date. It contains bibliographical notes, an index, frontispiece portrait, and maps.

University of Michigan HOWARD H. PECKHAM

THE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF BARON LUDWIG VON CLOSEN, 1780–1783. Translated and edited with an introduction by *Evelyn M. Acomb.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1958. Pp. xxxvi, 392. $7.50.) Professor Acomb has rendered a signal service to readers interested in the American Revolution by editing and translating the journal of Baron von Closen, onetime aide to the Count de Rochambeau. The journal was destroyed by fire in 1921, but, fortunately, a transcript of it has been preserved at the Library of Congress. It is clear from the text that Von Closen was an alert, intelligent, and well-informed participant in the Revolution. His comments about the operations of the French and American armies in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in North America are of considerable value to the student of military history. His position as a general's aide gave him access to "inside" information on military planning and on the reasons underlying some of the command decisions made by Generals de Rochambeau and Washington. It should be emphasized that Von Closen was able to speak and write English and was, therefore, able to communicate with American officers, soldiers, and civilians as well as with his French comrades-in-arms. Von Closen's journal is particularly useful for the information that it contains on matters of military planning and operations, but it also has useful information on many other subjects. The author took time to record his impressions of the towns he visited and the countryside through which he traveled. He jotted down his observations about the customs and manners of the Americans whom he met during his sojourn in their country. He observed and took notes upon the climate, the flora and fauna, and the various curiosities of nature that he encountered in North America and, later, in the West Indies. The most interesting part of Von Closen's journal deals with his experiences in North America. However, his account of the stay of the French troops in Venezuela and Santo Domingo during the winter of 1782–1783 is also of interest.

Lehigh University GEORGE W. KYTE

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF EDWARD GREENE MALBONE, 1777–1807. By *Ruel Pardee Tolman*. With an introduction by *Theodore Bolton* and a foreword by *John Davis Hatch, Jr.* [New-York Historical Society, the John Divine Jones Fund Series of Histories and Memoirs, Volume XIII.] (New York: the Society. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 322. $12.50.) Many of the top American portrait painters, Copley, Charles Wilson Peale, James, Rembrandt and Raphaelle Peale, John Wesley Jarvis, Thomas Sully, tried their hand at miniatures on ivory. Yet it is not one of these but a man unfamiliar to most laymen who is generally conceded to hold first place in this field. Despite this, he has had no biographer. Edward Greene Malbone died in 1807 at the age of twenty-nine, after having painted, the editor estimates, more than seven hundred minatures in ten years. Hardly a third of these have been located. Little has been added to the already known facts of Malbone's life; there are despairingly few documents from which to work. This volume, then, devotes itself primarily to a discussion of his work, both in text and in the careful catalogue of his known output that resulted from a lifetime of study. But we are also greatly indebted to the Society's skilled editor Mr. Charles E. Baker, who prepared the manuscript for press and provided the proper coordination of text, catalogues, index, and illustrations after the untimely death of the author.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission EARLE NEWTON

CONSENSUS AND CONTINUITY, 1776–1787. By *Benjamin Fletcher Wright*. [The Gaspar G. Bacon Lectures on the Constitution of the United States.] (Boston: Boston University Press. 1958. Pp. 60. $3.00.) President Wright's thesis in these lectures is that American political thought in the era of the Revolution was chiefly remarkable for the broad area of agreement that existed among the fathers of the republic and the steadiness with which they adhered to the inherited experience and proven institutions of the past. The revolutionists, in other words, were not revolutionary, nor were the Constitution-makers reactionary; in fact, they were, by and large, the same men, thinking and acting in the same patterns. Between Thomas Paine on the left and Alexander Hamilton on the right (neither of whom, he points out, commanded any significant following) the revolutionary generation plotted a steady course characterized by moderation rather than extremism, by wise compromise rather than intransigence, and (where they blazed new trails) by shrewd invention rather than innovation. The patriots of 1776 agreed on equality, though it did not ring with the majoritarian overtones of 1828 or the socio-economic overtones of 1936. The fifty-five men of 1787 buried most of their (primarily sectional) differences in compromise, but there was a wide range of items on which there was no need to compromise—representative government, a written constitution with a built-in amending process, separation of powers, bicameralism, and so on. The dominant ideas of the period were drawn from "the reservoir supplied partly by the central stream of English development . . . but even more by the experience of self-government in the colonies." In this argument there is little that is new. For some years historical writing has been slowly but steadily turning in this direction—away from the seductive simplicities of the revolutionary "fever-chart" and the dramatic dogmas of economic determinism. Wright's contribution is to sum up our present understanding of the era with a clarity and authority born of a historian's familiarity with the sources and a political scientist's capacity to analyze them.

Swarthmore College FREDERICK B. TOLLES

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A YANKEE JEFFERSONIAN: SELECTIONS FROM THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM LEE OF MASSACHUSETTS WRITTEN FROM 1796 TO 1840. Edited by *Mary Lee Mann.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 312. $5.75.) The life of a minor bureaucrat does not ordinarily open wide horizons to view, but when that man is as vivacious as William Lee and has as friends James Madison, James Monroe, Joel Barlow, and John Quincy Adams, the publication of his letters and a portion of his diary excites interest. Lee served as American consul at Bordeaux from 1801 to 1816. His sprightly commentary on the manners and mores of Napoleonic salon life, his own sense of involvement in that brilliant world, and his dedication to American commercial interests are reflected throughout. Historians will find most valuable those letters concerned with American shipping problems in that age of Berlin and Milan Decrees. That this good Jeffersonian, Yankee though he was, should be swept from his post as accountant in the Treasury by Jackson's broom adds an ironical twist to this story of a life spent in devotion to republicanism.

Wabash College STEPHEN G. KURTZ

WHAT HAPPENED TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION? THE DECLINE OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, 1776–1861. By *William Kailer Dunn.* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 346. $5.00.) The purpose of this study is to establish a case on historical grounds for doctrinal teaching in the public schools as the only way to teach the Christian principles. The author, Father William Kailer Dunn, is chaplain and instructor in religious education at Notre Dame College of Maryland. This book is a condensation and revision of his doctoral dissertation written at Johns Hopkins University. To answer his question the author examined a considerable number of representative textbooks and literary works used without substantial challenge in the colonial schools and through the early period of the republic. A considerable body of supplementary evidence in support of his thesis is drawn from the writings of teachers, ministers, and publicists of the period under discussion. The evidence presented shows that during this period religious instruction was accepted as a "basic ingredient" in public education and was regularly taught in the schools. Although secular subjects received increasing emphasis, there was no intention of eliminating religious instructions; doctrinal teaching was not considered a violation of the First Amendment. Freedom of conscience implied no hostility to religious teaching in the schools, nor did it presume absolute separation of church and state. In 1827 the change in the Massachusetts law paved the way for the complete elimination of doctrinal and (or) sectarian teaching by restricting the religious instruction to Bible reading. This was accentuated by the disestablishment of the Congregational Church in 1833, but more especially by the policies of the Unitarian Horace Mann, the first secretary of the newly created board of education. Under Mann the only religious teaching that enjoyed official sanction "was composed of ethics, natural theology and what was gotten from the reading of the Bible." While this was good, it made the teaching of the fundamental tenets of Christianity impossible. Father Dunn admits that Horace Mann and his contemporaries did advance freedom of conscience if not the essentials of orthodoxy as understood by the mass of believers. The author takes sharp issue with those who contend that prohibition of doctrinal instruction "became the guiding principle, in law and policy of the American people." He presents a defense on historical grounds for quite the opposite policy, and concludes from the evidence that Americans wanted "freedom *of* religion but not freedom *from* religion." Those who have given thought to the problem of teaching religion in the public schools will find their case strengthened by this historical investigation.

University of Maryland W. M. GEWEHR

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THOMAS WORTHINGTON: FATHER OF OHIO STATEHOOD. By *Alfred Byron Sears.* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1958. Pp. viii, 260. $5.50.) Professor Sears has written the first biography of Thomas Worthington. With the aid of the Jeffersonian Republican clique at Chillicothe, Worthington brought the territory of Ohio into statehood in 1803 against the strong opposition of General Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory. Worthington, a Virginian in modest circumstances, rode into the Northwest Territory in 1796 with the "Ohio fever" and a packet of military land warrants. By 1800 he owned eighteen thousand acres of good land. By 1820 he owned numerous mills, flatboats, droves of livestock, and the beautiful mansion Adena which is now the prized possession of the Ohio State Historical Society. Duncan MacArthur helped him to survey his lands, and for years Edward Tiffin, his brother-in-law, helped him to lead the Ohio Republicans and to control political appointments. The wooded hills visible from his front door are memorialized in the Ohio state seal. Worthington was a businessman, farmer, banker, and politician who served in offices ranging from justice of the peace to governor of Ohio and United States senator. He served in the first territorial assembly and was floor leader of the constitutional convention. After the constitution was written and adopted, he was deputized to carry it to Washington. He was elected to the first state assembly, and that assembly elected him one of the first senators from Ohio. He voted against the War of 1812, but as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs he put forth every effort to win. In the Senate he eagerly voted for the Louisiana Purchase, sponsored land laws that favored farmers, and championed national roads and canals with federal aid. He voted against the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, but three years later voted for its establishment and became a director in both Ohio branches. He was repeatedly elected governor, senator, or to some other office by a constituency that appreciated his encouragement of manufactures and his support of the Cumberland Road and cheap lands. Not until 1822 was he sidetracked from politics for younger men. By 1824 he was afraid of the upstart Andrew Jackson in national politics. He left a long diary which the author has used to advantage. The author has consulted public documents, newspapers, monographs, magazine articles, and other sources. There is a useful bibliography and a lengthy index. The volume is the result of extended and painstaking research. Historians of the Old Northwest Territory will welcome this much-needed biographical history of Ohio politics to 1820.

Miami University WILLIAM E. SMITH

ILLINOIS INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1818–1848. By *John H. Krenkel.* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press. 1958. Pp. 252. $4.00.) There was a high degree of commendable ambition as well as of roseate optimism in the efforts of the several American states to bring about extensive improvements in their transportation systems during the first half of the nineteenth century. No one has captured this sentiment more adequately nor reflected more accurately the disappointment and failure which usually followed such schemes than Professor John Krenkel in this fully documented account. Except for the eventual completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848, there is little in the way of productive achievement in the Illinois experiment. Growing out of the lessons of failure, however, and of lasting value in the long run, was the state's willingness to accept the legacy of disappointment and crushing debt which the reckless years from 1837 to 1840 had laid at her door. That Illinois did not fall back upon bankruptcy and repudiation as an easy way out of her dilemma is a tribute both to her leaders and to her people.

University of Illinois ROBERT M. SUTTON

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A POLISH CHAPTER IN JACKSONIAN AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES AND THE POLISH EXILES OF 1831. By *Jerzy Jan Lerski*. [Poland's Millennium Series of the Kościuszko Foundation.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 242. $5.00.) The year 1966 will mark the millennium of Poland's recorded history, dating back to her acceptance of Christianity in 966. Looking forward to the commemoration of this millennium in 1966, the Kościuszko Foundation is planning to publish and sponsor the publication of a series of books dealing with Poland, important aspects of Polish culture, and Polish-American relations. The book has been included in this series "because of its objectivity." The topic revives a fascinating and almost forgotten fragment of American history: the saga of the Polish exiles who were welcomed in the United States as heroes of universal freedom, and the interest in and understanding of Europe's troubles shown by leading intellectuals of Jacksonian America and their stand for the cause of enslaved Poland. A revision of the author's doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University, the book does not suffer from the usual ailments of such theses. It has an amiable style that holds the reader's attention. At the same time it is characterized by model scholarly erudition. Lerski's scholarship is remarkably wide. As a definite contribution to the role that immigration has played in American history, his study will be carefully noted by all specialists in the field. It helps to correct a prevailing historical myth: that the Poles are "new" American immigrants, and that throughout American history the political immigrants from what is now known as the "Iron Curtain" area have had little influence on United States politics.

University of Bridgeport JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

GREAT BASIN KINGDOM: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS, 1830–1900. By *Leonard J. Arrington*. [Studies in Economic History published in cooperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 534. $9.00.) This book illustrates the fact that the mine of Mormon history has rich possibilities for an understanding of American life and beliefs. Leonard J. Arrington works over a vein that has been prospected before, but his amalgamation brings out the value of what can be accomplished where the spirit is willing and the leadership able. The author uses primary sources to illustrate his points. He uses secondary works skillfully, or has discarded these works when the evidence does not seem to support an accurate understanding of what occurred. The result is a most rewarding picture for those who want to understand the part played by the Latter-Day Saints in the economic development of Utah, Nevada, parts of Idaho, Arizona, and Colorado. The actual concern of the church leaders and founders with the material well-being of their adherents is traced from the 1830's to the year 1900, with the changes that took place about 1870 receiving full consideration. Many specific enterprises go into the hopper of this search, some of them successful. Among these projects were the enthusiastically supported handcart emigration, the investment of tithing funds in railroad bonds, the experiment with silk culture, the management of a department store (ZCMI), the drive for metal discarded as junk on the plains, the development of hydroelectric plants. These are but samples of the intertwining of the church leadership with the economic development of the Great Basin. The physical aspects of the geographical region may have been dry and arid, but not the treatment of the facts. The author has fully assayed the dramatic and human nuggets; he brings out what human beings can and cannot do. After showing how Puritan attitudes about the relationship between individual and community influenced early Mormonism, the author advances the thesis that the Mormon attitude toward social welfare comes closer

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to the American tradition than does that of the "robber-barons" of the nineteenth century. And for the Mormons he supports this thesis judiciously, fairly, fully, and convincingly.

Miami University W. J. McNiff

THE MESCALERO APACHES. By *C. L. Sonnichsen.* [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 51.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 303. $5.75.) The story of the Mescalero Apaches and their relations with the government of the United States is a somber chapter added to a long and sordid account. Based only on its dealings with Indian tribes, the government's reputation would appear one of basest perfidy. The treatment of the Indians was in a modern tradition, but one no longer acceptable to "civilized" countries when part of the "internal" affairs of others. Professor C. L. Sonnichsen of the English department at Texas Western College has had a long and active interest in Indians and in the Southwest. This interest, combined with careful research and skillful writing, has resulted in an accurate and readable book on one of the small and almost forgotten branches of the Apaches. The book describes the desert life of the Apaches and traces their relations with the Spaniards of New Mexico before the Americans arrived. From this time on it is an account of Mescalero attempts to abide by American rules, interrupted by desperate and violent outbreaks brought on by frustration and failure. The frustration was not all on the side of the Apaches. General Crook, a man trusted by Indians, promised Geronimo and his warriors a two-year imprisonment and return to their own lands if they surrendered. From Washington, Sheridan refused to accept these terms and ordered the surrendered warriors shipped off to Florida. Crook's telegraphic reply was a request for transfer, a request promptly granted. Reservation life was one of starvation or theft. "Thoughtful observers," Sonnichsen writes, "noted with amazement how much the government was willing to spend to kill an Indian, and how little to keep him alive." The book ends, however, on a relatively hopeful note. "If the government does not liquidate them too soon—if they can get themselves educated fast enough—if they can continue to be Indians but learn the white man's methods, there will be a better day for all of them."

University of Florida Donald E. Worcester

THE TEXAN-SANTA FÉ PIONEERS. By *Noel M. Loomis.* [American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 25.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 329. $5.00.) Was the Texan-Santa Fe expedition of 1841 designed for conquest of Mexican territory or was it a badly managed attempt to solve pressing financial problems by opening a route to tap the lucrative Santa Fe trade? Noel M. Loomis' concern to find answers to these questions has led him to examine, seemingly, every scrap of material on the subject. From it he has constructed a full report from the call for volunteers to the return of the prisoners from Mexico eighteen months later. His record is detailed and soundly documented, his narrative compact, his point of view objective and impartial. From the start the expedition was plagued by bad management and poor field leadership, by stupid commissary arrangements and lack of discipline, by ignorance of the country and inadequate guides. One-tenth of the strength was lost to Indians and accidents during the crossing of Texas. When the straggling parties, suffering from thirst and starvation, finally arrived at the outlying Mexican settlements, they were induced through treachery to surrender without firing a shot. On the terrible march for two thousand miles to Mexico City nearly one hundred more died of starvation, disease, exhaustion, or were shot by their captors. Loomis found no evidence

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to support the concept of military conquest (fewer then four hundred men to capture a territory of 57,000 people!) nor did he find that any act of hostility was committed by Texans on Mexican soil. He concluded that it was the trading expedition it purported to be. One hundred pages of biographical rosters and chronology, a sixteen-page bibliography, a twenty-seven-page index, and a series of maps tracing the entire route of the party complete what must be the last necessary word on the expedition of the "Texan-Santa Fe pioneers."

Washington University JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

NEW MEXICO'S ROYAL ROAD: TRADE AND TRAVEL ON THE CHIHUAHUA TRAIL. By *Max L. Moorhead.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 234. $4.00.) This volume constitutes "a narrative and description of the origins, development, inner workings, and significance of the commercial, cultural, political, and military traffic on the oldest major highway in what is now the United States." Scarcity of continuous records compelled Moorhead to modify his original intention of testing the hypothesis that the so-called Santa Fe trade constituted not so much an interchange of goods between Missouri and New Mexico as it did a very extensive commerce involving a large part of both the American and Mexican nations. Nevertheless, his book does elaborate the extent and ramifications of the trade and provides as well a compressed and accurate account of it. Although some may question conclusions as to the over-all importance of the trade, his judgments, based on long and patient study, will command respect. Moorhead has traveled over the various routes involved (a set of maps help orient the reader), has examined source materials all the way from Washington, D. C., to Mexico City, and has made judicious use of secondary materials. Scholarly in nature and clearly written, his book in general confirms observations and descriptions to be found in Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies.* This remains the classic account, but serious students will find Moorhead's study a necessary companion volume.

University of Missouri LEWIS ATHERTON

DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATEN IN AMERIKA: DIE ACHTUNDVIERZIGER UND IHRE SCHRIFTEN. By *Eitel Wolf Dobert.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 233. DM 12.80.) The political refugees who adopted the United States as their new fatherland after the tragic failure of the German revolutions of 1848 and 1849 were a unique group in the history of American immigration, and provided the cultural leaven for a political and intellectual renaissance among the whole German element in the United States. In their hearts the new arrivals carried the image of a great and free American republic, and an unshakable faith in freedom and rational intelligence. When they discovered glaring inconsistencies between the theories and practices of American democracy, they took pen in hand to rebuild their adopted fatherland according to their heart's desire. In this excellent study the author provides a synopsis of the books of fifty-five of the "forty-eighters," whose literary output, not including their extensive activities as journalists, was truly remarkable. Their publications give us a clear insight into the ideas, principles, and political and intellectual currents in Germany's golden age of liberalism and rationalism. Some published only one or two books, others a dozen or more. Some of the authors are fairly well known, others not, and their writings cover a wide variety of interest, philosophy, religion, pedagogy, travel, the theater, history, geography, botany, linguistics, music, phrenology, and penology, not to mention some interesting novels and memoirs. The author has produced an excellent book, based on thorough research. The synopses are

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well done, and the author's comments and biographical sketches show a remarkable understanding of his characters and the spirit of the age. One lays down this beautifully written and significant contribution to our immigration history with a sense of the tragic loss for Germany and an appreciation of what America gained when the fatherland drove these men into exile.

Western Reserve University CARL WITTKE

THE COTTON REGENCY: THE NORTHERN MERCHANTS AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1880. By *George Ruble Woolfolk*. [Bookman Monograph Series.] (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 311. $5.00.) As defined in this significant little monograph, the "cotton regency" comprised the men of commerce in the Northeast and the Middle West who, during 1865–1880, "had truly become the Regents of the former power and wealth of the 'Cotton Kingdom.'" Accepting Beard's "second American Revolution," Professor Woolfolk endeavors to show in greater detail how and by whom it was accomplished. The result is to bring into the main stream of Reconstruction history a varied assortment of local and hitherto relatively unknown business leaders from the cities of the North and the West, whom he designates "urban regionalists" and the "new men" of the period. His main thesis proceeds from the not-too-startling hypothesis that dominant groups in contiguous regions may combine to control other regions, but he seeks to demonstrate that the Civil War introduced what he chooses to call "group democracy" as a "new pattern" in American politics. From the shambles of the agrarian era northern businessmen, previously eschewing politics, "emerged with both the skills and collective experience necessary to begin a new economic nationalism and fit the disorganized American pattern into the bourgeois mould." The period 1865–1880 was one of purely commercial exploitation of the South. Initially New York reestablished its hegemony and maintained it until about 1870. Bitter competition from Boston and Philadelphia ensued, and the failure of purely regional methods of fitting the staple economy of the South into the national pattern led to a new idea of national and local pressure politics, which Western urban businessmen espoused with the broader objective of controlling the new order. Thus the politics of business succeeded the business of politics. A succinct preface and unusually copious notes supplement the 171 pages of actual text, and are integral parts of the volume. Unfortunately the book is marred by poor writing in spots and careless proofreading, but there are particularly good chapters on the famine year of 1866 in the South and the postwar extension of railroads into the South. Most important in the impressive bibliography are the proceedings of the various boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and commercial conventions which nurtured the "new men."

Colgate University CHARLES R. WILSON

BEN BUTLER: THE SOUTH CALLED HIM BEAST! By *Hans L. Trefousse*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1957. Pp. 365. $5.00.) Benjamin F. Butler usually achieved the goal of all politicians—notoriety. From his early days in Lowell, Massachusetts, through his explosive careers as Union general, conqueror of New Orleans, radical of radicals, and party-jumping hack, his doings were not dull. So colorful a subject is grand grist for a biographer's mill, and Butler has recently been the subject of several scholarly studies. None of them, present work included, have done him full-rounded justice. There is much to commend in Mr. Trefousse's *Ben Butler*—wide research in a multiplicity of sources, careful analysis of much material, and attempts at objectivity—but more to condemn. The book is designed as a full-scale biography and consequently covers a time span from 1818 to 1893. Butler had his finger in all

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sorts of national affairs, but a volume of only 256 pages of text is hard pressed to include all of his activities, much less treat them in adequate detail. Controversial episodes such as Butler's New Orleans administration and his famed "woman order" receive ample favorable attention, as do his post-Civil War political machinations, but the book's over-all dimensions are as canted as the general's physiognomy. Warped dimensions are not helped by an occasionally awkward style, and the author's conclusions suffer from excessive watering down. For instance, the last sentence in the book: "So we leave him, slightly tarnished perhaps, but productive of good nonetheless." Pedestrian composition and organizational flaws reduce the effectiveness of good research and the end product is a volume that will not remove the necessity for still another study of Butler.

Rice Institute FRANK E. VANDIVER

TRENDS IN BIRTH RATES IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1870. By *Bernard Okun*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXVI, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1958. Pp. 203, viii. $3.50.) This study is a refinement and extension of studies that made use of the ratio of children, generally from birth to four years of age, to women, generally from fifteen to forty-four or twenty to forty-four. These studies were rather widely used as measures of fertility in the days before births were adequately recorded for the entire United States. The first essay studies the changes in the child-woman ratios in the white population, 1870–1950. The principal findings are in general accord with those of earlier studies. There were rather wide differentials in these child-woman ratios which endured over time but also diminished: as between different regions of the country; as between different states; as between rural and urban populations; as between cities of different sizes; as between native whites and foreign-born whites; and as between rural farm and non-rural farm communities. The author's examination and refinement of the data lead him to believe that changes in the proportion of the women aged fifteen to forty-four who were twenty to twenty-nine (the most fertile ages) had little to do with these changes. He also rejects the decline in the proportion of foreign-born as an important factor. Likewise "urbanization" seems to him to have had little effect if one defines urbanization as "changes in the distribution of persons from one setting to another." On the other hand "urbanization" defined as a state of mind or a way of life seems to him to account for most of the differentials and changes in ratios. The second essay, on Negro child-woman ratios, shows that in general these ratios are higher among Negroes than among whites, except in northern cities, but that most of the same trends and differentials are found among Negroes as among whites. The chief exception found is that "In states where Negroes are much more heavily urbanized, whites have higher birth ratios; in states where whites are much more heavily urbanized, Negroes have higher birth ratios." Thus urbanization plays a more important role in the child-woman ratios among Negroes than among whites. The third essay is "A Review of Hypotheses and Approaches Used in Explaining Declining Birth Trends in Birth Rates." There can be no quarrel with the conclusion that the best scientific methods should be used and that some are more valuable than others, but there is nothing here with which demographers are not fully acquainted and the lay reader is quite likely to skip this essay.

Oxford, Ohio WARREN S. THOMPSON

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880. By *Herbert J. Clancy, S. J.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyala University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 294. $4.00.) This careful study, though offering no revisionist interpretations other than a somewhat more

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sympathetic treatment of Tammany's John Kelly and the introduction of some hitherto overlooked religious questions, gives a fine coverage of an almost forgotten election. It is a revealing picture of the politics of personalities, prejudices, patronage, and factional strife. Both presidential nominees were logical choices. Garfield was no Polk or Pierce but was regarded beforehand as a likely choice if Blaine and the favorite sons stopped Grant's third term phalanx. An undercover movement for Garfield's nomination casts doubts on his loyalty to John Sherman, but the floor leader of the anti-Grant forces could hardly help advertising himself. Hancock, with Tilden finally eliminated, won apparently because pledged delegates felt no deep loyalty to their favorites and climbed on the most available bandwagon. The author's high opinion of Bayard cannot alter the hard fact that his Civil War record made him too vulnerable in a bloody-shirt campaign. The Republicans, after Garfield mollified the Stalwarts, dragged out the war issues but shifted to the tariff after the September loss of Maine. The unfortunate Democratic "tariff for revenue only" plank helped them raise money and frighten voters. The Democrats made the most of the dark spots on Garfield's record, but business felt that the adaptable soldier-politician would do more to preserve the recently returned prosperity than the inexperienced professional soldier. Among the few errors are "General George H. Pendleton" and the statement that "E. G. Laplan and Warren Miller" succeeded Senators Conkling and Platt. And is it not pure conjecture to suggest that President Arthur's "reformation" was inspired by a letter from a feminine admirer? Space limitations probably explain the rather summary treatment of Greenbackism and the listing of newspapers in the index but not in the bibliography. This excellent study fills one of the few remaining gaps in the history of presidential elections.

Ohio State University EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM

IN DEFENSE OF YESTERDAY: JAMES M. BECK AND THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATISM 1861–1936. By *Morton Keller*. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1958. Pp. 320. $6.00.) Perhaps the best measure of the depth of James M. Beck's conservatism is the fact that in 1936 he was deeply suspicious of Alf Landon, whom he considered the "candidate of the 'liberal' wing of the [Republican] Party." In this biography Morton Keller uses Beck to exemplify the difficulties faced by an old-fashioned conservative who tried to participate in twentieth-century political affairs. Beginning his career as a Democrat attacking Standard Oil and the Pennsylvania Railroad, Beck broke with his party over free silver and became a Republican. As a government lawyer under Theodore Roosevelt he took part in the Northern Securities case, but by 1907 he had abandoned all faith in reform. He was a lawyer for the manufacturers in the Danbury Hatters case in 1907, and in 1936 he argued against the government in *Ashwander* vs. *TVA*. Between these dates it is difficult to find a case or a public issue on which he failed to take an extremely conservative position. Mr. Keller points out carefully that even at the height of Republican supremacy in the twenties, Beck was frequently at odds with what he considered the Supreme Court's tendency to enhance national power at the expense of the free enterprise system. But unlike many conservatives, Beck was consistent. With trifling exceptions he was always on the side of individualism. Civil liberties were as important to him as economic, and he uniformly rejected the advances of protofascist conservative groups. Keller tends sometimes to slight the most important aspects of Beck's life in favor of comprehensive coverage of minor details. He makes no attempt, for example, to analyze or even to describe in detail the many books that Beck wrote in his long career. Keller is also something of a "name dropper" in behalf of his subject. It seems scarcely necessary in

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this brief study to point out that at Beck's funeral Herbert Hoover, George Wharton Pepper, John W. Davis, and Newton D. Baker were honorary pallbearers *in absentia.* But this is a useful and interesting book, based on a great deal of hard work. It attempts throughout to use the small matters of one man's life to add to our understanding of the exciting and dynamic era in which that man lived.

Michigan State University JOHN A. GARRATY

MISSIONARIES, CHINESE, AND DIPLOMATS: THE AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN CHINA, 1890–1952. By *Paul A. Varg.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 335. $6.00.) Professor Varg has not attempted a full or well-rounded account of the American Protestant missionary enterprise during the little over six decades that he has covered. His general thesis is that the missionary effort was a phase of the impact of the United States upon China and that its basic assumptions were so alien to Chinese culture and to what the Chinese believed to be their needs that early in the 1950's the triumphant combinations of Marxism and Chinese nationalism snuffed it out. Frankly an outsider to the missionary enterprise and primarily interested in Sino-American diplomatic relations, Varg has stressed the fashion in which American Protestant missions were dovetailed with those relations. He also speaks of what he regards as the changing emphases in the programs of those missions, with their increasing adjustment to Chinese nationalism and their growing attention to the social and rural problems of China. Viewing his subject from this angle, Varg has gone diligently into the pertinent printed and manuscript sources. Although he has brought out no facts that are not familiar to the experts, he has provided a readable and comprehensive account of those aspects of the subject which are his special interest. The book is marred by a number of errors which a greater familiarity with the field would have avoided. Thus Moody's theology was not learned when he was "a schoolboy," but later. The conference of 1886 which saw the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement was not called at the instance of Robert Wilder and was held at Mt. Hermon, not Northfield. The list could be lengthened. More serious is the failure to cite the exact source of many statements. For the majority of the data adequate footnote references are given, and, happily, at the foot of the page and not at the conclusion of the chapter or the book. But the absence of such references for a substantial proportion of the information suggests a faulty methodology.

Yale University KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY 1912–1916. By *Amos R. E. Pinchot.* Edited with a biographical introduction by *Helene Maxwell Hooker.* (New York: New York University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 305. $7.50.) The publication of this unfinished manuscript is a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Progressive movement. Written in the early thirties, the *History* was intended to be the political counterpart to the author's also uncompleted *Big Business in America.* Although Amos Pinchot was quite secondary to his brother Gifford in the councils of the Bull Moose party, his *History of the Progressive Party 1912–1916* is an arresting account by a leader of what TR called the "lunatic fringe" of the party. Pinchot emphasizes throughout his opposition to the influence of the "Steel Trust" on TR and the party, an influence indicated by Roosevelt's affinity for George W. Perkins. One is not startled by the conclusions that the Progressive party failed because "it had aspirations and no issues under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt it attempted the impossible feat of reaching a goal through means that were politically antagonistic to the goal. . . ." Further, it was used by an industro-financial organization seeking to protect itself.

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While such conclusions lack adequate documentation, the fact is important that Pinchot's stringent opposition encouraged suspicion of Perkins and Roosevelt. The historian will particularly appreciate this publication because of the well-written seventy-eight-page biographical introduction. Without a doubt it is the definitive description of Amos Pinchot's role in the Progressive movement. Utilizing manuscript material, including the personal recollections of contemporaries and secondary sources, Professor Hooker presents the sweep of Pinchot's political and ideological life. She notes, incidentally, that he came to fear FDR's "statism." Concentrating, however, on the 1910–1916 phase of Pinchot's life, the editor describes in some detail his participation in the La Follette and Roosevelt candidacies for the Republican nomination in 1912; the Progressive campaign of that year, including his consternation about the famous "missing anti-trust" plank; the postelection anti-Perkins drive; the 1914 campaign; and his swing to Wilson in 1916. This reviewer was most impressed by Pinchot's sincere support of La Follette in 1912 and his courageous criticism of Perkins' influence. Professor Hooker concludes her assessment by properly applying to Amos Pinchot a principle best stated by Lord Acton: "Ideals in politics are never realized, but the pursuit of them determines history."

New York State Teachers College, Geneseo MARTIN L. FAUSOLD

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY: WOODROW WILSON AND THE BRITISH LIBERALS. By *Laurence W. Martin.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 70.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 230. $4.50.) A careful reading of this work will reveal that the author has not made an exhaustive study of the subject suggested by the subtitle. Mr. Martin, it is true, has stated that he "has devoted most of his attention to the exploration of relations between Wilson and the British radicals." His use of the term "radicals" and his failure to define liberalism sharply is confusing at first, though he does eventually indicate that "radical" refers to those British Liberals who in the first decade of the twentieth century protested against the growth of armaments and Britain's joining one of the rival continental alliances, and who after the outbreak of World War I found in Wilson their chief advocate of a just and lasting peace settlement. The author deals only briefly with the "Liberal-Imperialists," to which group he assigns Lord Grey and the "orthodox Liberals." This concentration upon the "radical" wing of the Liberal party is defensible to a certain extent since the men whom the author assigns to this group did have an affinity for Wilson and helped him to crystallize his ideas about a new order to assure world peace. But Martin's treatment of the Peace Conference, when the relation between Wilson and the British Liberals met its severest test, is inadequate. Certainly this portion of the study deserves to be considered more than a mere "epilogue." The author does, however, make the excellent point that "though the radicals did their best to promote liberal principles" and exhibited greater concern than Wilson "for economic affairs and greater awareness of the possible dangers of self-determination," they did not share his "onerous duty of putting them into practice." The main theme of this study, which will be most useful to mature scholars, is how Wilson and the "radicals" started out with similar ideas derived from a common liberal tradition and drew closer and closer as World War I dragged on until finally the President by promulgation of his Fourteen Points became the advocate of a postwar settlement almost fully endorsed by the British "radicals." Especially interesting is the story of how some of the views of the "radicals" were filtered through Colonel House and William H. Buckler, who was attached to the American embassy in London. Within the limits he has set for himself, which this reviewer considers too narrow, Martin has been thorough in his research. Much of his

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information has been drawn from the numerous published biographies and memoirs dealing with the period and from the writings of the prolific British radicals. For manuscript materials he has utilized papers in the Yale Library, the most important of which are the collections of Colonel House and Sir William Wiseman.

Washington, D. C. JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1950–1955. BASIC DOCUMENTS. Volume II. [General Foreign Policy Series 117. Department of State Publication 6446.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1957. Pp. lix, 1709–3222, xxv.) This volume concludes the three-thousand-page collection of diplomatic papers for the years 1950 to 1955 prepared largely for official use by the Historical Division of the State Department. It continues the series inaugurated earlier with the publication of *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941–49*. Because the arrangement of documents in the collection under review is topical, it must be used with its companion volume for the years following 1950. Volume II contains materials that relate specifically to the problems of Germany, Austria, and European security; the Soviet Union; the Eastern European Communist regimes and the Baltic states; the Near and Middle East, South Asia, and Africa; the Far East and Southeast Asia; Korea; disarmament and the control of atomic energy; foreign economic policies; international information and educational exchange programs; and the organization of the State Department and Foreign Service. These documents reveal much that is essential for an understanding of recent American policy. The important statements by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and Secretaries of State Acheson and Dulles, for example, reveal how slight the shifts in formal policy have been in this decade (there have been no significant changes since 1955). That there were vast differences in intent and spirit indicates how extensively actual policy transcends mere documentary evidence. This volume avoids the real wellsprings of decision making during those formative years. There are no references to the charges of subversion, yet American action since 1950 can hardly be separated from the illusion of omnipotence that emanated from those charges. If this compilation is not exhaustive, it leaves no doubt as to the nature of American policy. It comprises one long commentary on the nation's continuing adherence to its idealistic purpose rather than to any realistic evaluation of the power and security interests, real or imagined, of the Soviet Union or continental China. For that reason it demonstrates the futile sequence of objectives persistently and confidently enunciated and seldom achieved. But these observations on the diplomatic record are no reflection on the volume itself. This is a useful collection that will satisfy the requirements of all but the most specialized scholars.

University of Illinois NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

LEYTE, JUNE 1944–JANUARY 1945. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume XII.] (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1958. Pp. xxv, 445. $6.50.) On a hot day in October, 1944, a bored Seabee took to the hills overlooking Humboldt Bay in New Guinea. From a high point he looked down and saw riding at anchor hundreds of naval vessels of all sizes. The next day the fleet left to rendezvous with history at Leyte Gulf. This rendezvous forms the climax of Admiral Morison's book, the latest in the annotated series on the operations of the United States Navy in World War II. The volume rounds out the picture of the Leyte operation previously presented by the historians of the Army and the Air Force. And what an operation it was! Two great naval powers, the United States and Japan, sent their armadas to do battle with each other. The result was one of the greatest naval

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engagements of all time. The Japanese employed three naval forces in their attempt to destroy the American naval and landing forces in Leyte Gulf and thus prevent General MacArthur from securing a foothold in the Philippines. The sea battles that followed destroyed Japan as a naval power, but not before the American forces had received a thorough scare. As Admiral Sprague put it, the United States won by "the definite partiality of Almighty God." In his series Morison has followed the example of his precursor Thucydides, who prefaced his history of the Peloponnesian War in this wise: "Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others, of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry." In the Leyte volume Morison has exploited all available materials, both American and Japanese, and has interviewed the leading participants on both sides. The result is an authoritative, objective history, written in vigorous, salty prose that captures the fears, the angers, the hopes, the tears, and the sweat of all men who have ever gone down to the sea in ships to fight for their country.

United States Air Force Academy M. Hamlin Cannon

LATIN AMERICA

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: A GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH. By *R. A. Humphreys.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 197. $4.00.) This small but heavily freighted book, the first major effort of its kind, achieves with distinction its stated purpose of unlocking the doors to the literature on Latin American history in the English language. Excellently organized for convenient reference by topic, period, and geographical area, it will simplify the research tasks both of the beginning student and the specialist in the field. The generous breadth and variety of its contents, based on the widest possible interpretation of history, enhance the value of the book. Such supplementary areas as economics, politics, and sociology receive very careful attention. In addition to surveying the monographic literature, the book lists numerous published guides to archival material, government publications, periodicals, travel accounts, and the more illuminating works of historical fiction. The annotations are brief, perceptive, and just in appraisal, taking due note of important works and properly pungent when dealing with the commonplace or shoddy. Coverage of most periods and areas appears to be very thorough and sometimes exhaustive. However, this reviewer would have preferred a fuller treatment in the section on "Ancient Peoples and Cultures," and does not altogether comprehend the compiler's criteria for inclusion in this field (e.g., Professor Humphreys cites a fairly technical article on Indian languages in the June, 1955, issue of the *American Anthropologist,* but omits G. C. Willey's highly informative and stimulating synthesis, "The Prehistoric Civilization of Nuclear America," in the same issue). Withal this is a model work of its kind, and should inspire Latin American historians to make a frontal attack on the larger problem of compiling a guide to the enormous corpus of material in Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and other European languages.

Springfield, Massachusetts Benjamin Keen

CRÓNICAS DE PUERTO RICO DESDE LA CONQUISTA HASTA NUESTROS DÍAS. Part 1, Volume I (1493–1797). Selected, with introduction and notes by *Eugenio Fernández Méndez.* [Antología de Autores Puertorriqueños, Volume I.] (San Juan: Ediciones del Gobierno, Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico. 1957. Pp. xx, 366.) This

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is the first volume of a series of anthologies for the general reader published under the official auspices of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. It contains selected material from a number of primary sources illustrating the historical development of Puerto Rico from prehistorical times to the end of the eighteenth century. There is a wide variety as to the selections presented, ranging from excerpts from Fray Ramón Pané and Oviedo to official documents, fragments from travel books, memoirs, and, mainly, "memorias informativas," these last being the core of the volume. The emphasis is thus on descriptive material bearing on the social, economic, and cultural history of the island, and the second half of the eighteenth century receives the greatest attention (seven of the fifteen items offered belong to this period). All of the material had been previously published separately. Not enough care has been exercised in some instances, however, to reproduce from the most authorized version or the available original. Some of the selections are full reproductions, others are mere fragments of the original. Most of the explanatory notes are by the editor; some are reproduced from previous editions of the selected item. In some cases this is not clearly indicated, and the result is confusion. The illustrations are from contemporary sources, but in most cases these are not clearly identified. Within these limitations this is a praiseworthy and pioneer effort, offering a handy collection of heretofore dispersed sources of basic importance for the socio-cultural history of Puerto Rico.

University of Puerto Rico ARTURO SANTANA

DISCURSO SOBRE LA IMPORTANCIA, FORMA, Y DISPOSICIÓN DE LA RECOPILACIÓN DE LEYES DE LAS INDIAS OCCIDENTALES QUE EN SU REAL CONSEJO PRESENTA EL LICENCIADO ANTONIO DE LEÓN, 1623. By *José Toribio Medina.* Preface by *Aniceto Almeyda.* [Estudios Biobibliográficos.] (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. 1956. Pp. xix, 176.) Despite the fact that for thirty-eight years following publication in 1623 of his *Discurso,* Spanish-born, Peruvian-educated Antonio de León Pinelo dedicated much time to the crystallization of the *Recopilación,* which ultimately emerged in 1680, it was only with Medina's biobibliographical studies early in the present century that the stature of this seventeenth-century jurist was widely appreciated. Since Medina's day the juridical system of the Spanish colonial empire has drawn increasing attention. Now it is generally agreed that León Pinelo is challenged only by Solórzano Pereira as the principal contributor to that epochal summation of Spanish colonial law. The present volume, issued by the foundation that honors the achievement of José Toribio Medina, contains the following: Aniceto Almeyda's perspective-establishing introduction in reference to both León Pinelo and Medina; Medina's biographical study of León Pinelo, first published in 1902; Medina's bibliographical study of León Pinelo, first published in 1907; Medina's documents on León Pinelo's family, first published in 1902; and the text of León Pinelo's *Discurso* of 1623. Unifying Medina's separated writings of León Pinelo with the work that essentially inspired his interest in that jurist, this volume possesses a welcome measure of thematic unity and scholarly utility.

Southern Illinois University C. HARVEY GARDINER

FROM COMMUNITY TO METROPOLIS: A BIOGRAPHY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL. By *Richard M. Morse.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 341. $7.50.) Loath as he is to accept all the advertising statements on the jacket, the present reviewer can formulate no more accurate characterization of the volume's contents than that found in the wrapper's last paragraph: "Interweaving a wide range of material in the economic, cultural, sociological, and demographic areas, this volume

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portrays the emergence of a nucleated urban order within agrarian, patriarchal Brazil. The city's Law Academy, the coffee boom, the republican and abolitionist campaigns, mass immigration, industrialization, the 'modernist movement' in arts and letters, the changing architectural styles, and the *paulista* movement of 1932 are among the many trends, forces, and institutions which are examined as influencing and reflecting the new metropolitan temper." The author presents his subject in four main parts, and subdivides these into twenty-one chapters, some of whose titles are more modernistic in manner than suggestive of contents. More important, the chapter contents are often in the form of extracts and quotations from pertinent Brazilian authorities interspersed with the author's own comments. While this method has the virtue of introducing wide-range points of view from distinguished writers, it has the disadvantage of fragmentation and disunity. This biography of the city of São Paulo (subtitle) contains enormous quantities of material. On the other hand it has the weakness common to all such ambitious efforts of weaving an intelligent pattern out of a dozen disparate disciplines, real and fanciful. Although the author uses the historical approach to his numerous subjects, legitimate history generally takes a back seat to some of the newer types of study. The work is frequently marred—at least for the historian—by the use of vague, unusual, and meaningless words and phrases. The bibliographical material at the end of each chapter and at the end of the volume is quite impressive, even for a university press publication.

Ohio State University LAWRENCE F. HILL

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Historical News

The Washington Meeting, 1958

I

The seventy-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., on December 28, 29, and 30. Continuing the trend of recent years, the 2,238 paid registrants made this meeting the largest to be held in Washington and second in size only to the record attendance of 2,450 at the New York meeting in 1957.

The problems of handling this large attendance were in the able hands of the Committee on Local Arrangements, headed by Richard C. Haskett of George Washington University. He was assisted by Fredrick Aandahl, Department of State; David Brandenburg, American University; John T. Farrell, Catholic University of America; William Fox, Montgomery Junior College; and David Millar, George Washington University. In addition to the full program of formal sessions, there were many informal gatherings and exhibits. Several of the sessions were subjects of feature articles in the Washington press.

The members of the Program Committee for 1958 were George Barr Carson, Jr., Service Center for Teachers of History; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Hilary Conroy, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., American University; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Horace S. Merrill, University of Maryland; and C. E. Black, Princeton University, who served as chairman.

In requesting suggestions for the program and in selecting among the many proposals submitted, the Program Committee gave special consideration to topics calling for broad comparative treatments of societies at similar stages of development, remote though they might be from one another in area or in time. The Committee also favored papers that promised to be interpretative rather than primarily informational. Of the thirty-nine discussion sessions, twelve were on broadly comparative themes; ten were in European, ten in American, two in Latin American, and one in Canadian history; while four sessions were concerned with aspects of the historical profession.

II

Of the sessions on comparative themes, a number placed primary emphasis on ideas and influences. "New Approaches to World History" was the subject of

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a session under the chairmanship of Frederick H. Jackson of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Speaking on "The Concept of World History," William H. McNeill of the University of Chicago maintained that the usual Europe-centered presentation of the history of mankind is unsatisfactory. Until quite recent times world affairs did not hinge upon events along the northwestern rim of the Eurasian continent, and in our own time they are again ceasing to do so. The question of how our common view of world history should be revised cannot be answered exactly until a number of scholars have made the attempt. A promising method might be to focus attention upon major centers of social and cultural innovation in any given epoch, and study how other societies within the *oecumene* reacted to the novelties introduced at such centers. In his paper on "World History and the Teacher," Leften S. Stavrianos of Northwestern University deplored current teaching of world history. The typical world history course might be entitled more appropriately "Europe and Its World Relationships." Such courses should be organized on a global basis, and world history should be taught on several levels. The advanced undergraduate and the graduate courses should concentrate on limited phases of world history, while the freshman and high school courses should be comprehensive in scope. European movements and institutions should be treated in the context of non-European movements and institutions of similar magnitude and world significance. Comments by Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University were followed by a lively general discussion.

The session on "The UNESCO History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" was presided over by Waldo G. Leland of the American Council of Learned Societies. "A Progress Report" was presented by Ralph E. Turner of Yale University, the general editor of the UNESCO History; and Caroline F. Ware, author-editor of Volume VI, dealing with the twentieth century, discussed "Problems of Interpretation." Comments were offered by Sylvia L. Thrupp of the University of Chicago, and the discussion that followed included remarks by several scholars who have been active in the preparation of the project. It was generally agreed that the UNESCO History is a valuable undertaking that presents possibilities of failure as well as of success. The view was expressed that the volumes, in spite of their individual excellence, do not constitute such a consistent and coherent history as had been hoped. Also, an adequate scholarly apparatus must be supplied, and notes must be added in order to present important views or conclusions at variance with those expressed in the texts. The UNESCO History is Western in its orientation to a degree disappointing to scholars of those Eastern countries where interest in national history is rapidly developing. They feel that more recourse should have been had to them and their colleagues. It was generally agreed that this undertaking is supplying invaluable experience in one of the most difficult kinds of international intellectual cooperation.

Martin E. Malia of the University of California, Berkeley, served as chairman

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of the session on "Social Thought in England and Russia." James H. Billington of Harvard University discussed the role of N. K. Mikhailovsky in Russia as "journalistic high priest" of Auguste Comte's "religion of humanity." This religion spread to Russia to give comfort to the "uprooted urban intellectuals" in the face of government repression in the mid-1860's. For Billington, Mikhailovsky's chief importance was "to prepare the way for Soviet practice by institutionalizing ritual excommunication in ideological journals" and by denigrating mere reform and personal pleasure "in the name of an optimistic, pseudoscientific theory of history and a belief in the 'people' as a new source of truth." Walter M. Simon of Cornell University, in "Spencer, Comte, and the Social Organism," treated the differences between Comte and Spencer in their use of the biological analogy. Comte, like most exponents of such a theory, relied on it to advocate paternalistic and authoritarian government. Spencer, however, was a doctrinaire political and economic liberal; but he could defend this position only by sacrificing consistency in the use of the biological analogy, which he used as proof of natural social progress. In his comments, George L. Kline of Columbia University pointed out, first, that Mikhailovsky and Spencer shared a common individualism and hence a distrust of the authoritarian, centralizing elements in Comte; for this reason Kline felt that Billington made too much of Mikhailovsky as a precursor of the Soviets. Secondly, Kline indicated that Mikhailovsky viewed progress as an increasing approximation to the fullness of personality, whereas Spencer held it to be the development of social and technological specialization. In Kline's summary, Mikhailovsky shared with Spencer and with all positivism a belief in the empirical origin of knowledge and the cult of science as applied to society; but he had also a phenomenological sense of individuality and the idea that man, not nature, sets history's ends, an attitude characteristic of much of the Russian intelligentsia, but lacking in Comte and Spencer.

At the session on "Western Culture in Eastern Lands," presided over by Richard Pipes of Harvard University, Firuz Kazemzadeh of Yale University and R. Bayly Winder of Princeton University read papers on the civilizing influence of Russia in Turkestan and of England in Egypt, respectively. There was a broad area of agreement between the two interpretations as to the achievements and failures of the great imperial powers. Both praised the achievements of the Western powers in the realm of economic life, even if the advance in Egypt was presented as less spectacular than that in Turkestan. They also stressed the shallowness of Western education, which in both areas was confined to a small elite. Finally, both dwelt at length on the pernicious political effects of Western domination, although the solid British achievement in Egypt in the field of public administration was conceded. John C. Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations pointed out that despite the striking similarities between the original Western influences in the east of Russia and England, the long-range effects were quite different. He ascribed this difference to the nature of the political systems

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of the two ruling powers. Several speakers from the floor took issue with the evaluation of the Western influence presented in the two papers, maintaining that it was more positive than either had indicated. The chairman suggested in his concluding statement that historians analyze the standards by which they judge "progress."

The joint session with the Conference on Asian History on "Liberalism and Nationalism" was held under the chairmanship of Hans Kohn of City College of New York. Howard A. Reed of the American Friends Service Committee reviewed representative liberal and national trends and personalities in the Middle East for the period 1865 to 1925, with special reference to Jamal al-din al-Afghani. Nationalism with a particularly Islamic character has become one of the most dynamic forces in the Middle East. By contrast, liberalism has failed to make a substantial impact on popular opinion, due partly to its decline in the West and even more to the recognition by Middle Easterners that the West paid only lip service to its ideals when it dealt with Middle Eastern peoples. Delmer M. Brown of the University of California, Berkeley, showed that in the Meiji period in Japan the traditionalist forces and progressive reforms were not exclusive and contradictory, but supported each other. Traditional beliefs in the "Way of the Emperor" provided the direction for a unified drive to enrich the country and strengthen the army, and the reforms provided more modern efficient ways of fulfilling responsibilities to the divine emperor. Eugene Anderson of the University of California, Los Angeles, contrasted liberalism and nationalism in Western Europe. Both developed in conflict with absolutism and the old regime. Liberalism rejected the organization and ideals of its absolutist opponent; nationalism compromised with them. Neither movement solved all the problems posed by the transition from the old to the new society; yet liberalism can contribute to the future the ideal of freedom, and nationalism the recognition of the need of the individual for the inspiration of being part of a group. In the ensuing discussion some contrasted the nature of nationalism in Asia and in nineteenth-century Europe; others emphasized the possibility of a fusion of liberalism and nationalism as it took place in some Western countries.

"Near Eastern Bureaucracy" was the subject of an address by Sir Hamilton Gibb of Harvard University at the luncheon session of the Conference on Asian History, of which Eugene P. Boardman of the University of Wisconsin was chairman. The speaker undertook a comprehensive inquiry into the nature and structure of bureaucracy in the Near East from the Sumerians to Nasser, and stressed several common features in the social structure and functions of bureaucracy, its cultural attitudes and attributes, and its relationship to other classes. Functional segmentation by kin-groups has been a prevalent feature of Near Eastern society, and can be demonstrated for the early class of scribes, whose special function required memorization of an extensive body of texts. Their functions as a bureaucracy were of supreme importance for the maintenance of

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material culture through the political and religious revolutions of the Near East, and reinforced their conservative bent. Their self-consciousness was even more clearly exposed in the continuity of their tradition and of its literature, and they became the bearers and guarantors of a humanistic, cultural tradition. In the middle Islamic centuries this tradition was weakened by the virtual coalescence of the scribal and religious classes and the accompanying institutionalization of education. But in the Ottoman Empire a new secretarial class emerged, which gradually re-created the traditional features of Near Eastern bureaucracy.

A session on "Religion and Socialism," led by Carl E. Schorske of Wesleyan University, explored the differences in the relations between these two forces in various parts of modern Asia. Wolfram Eberhart of the University of California, Berkeley, examining the social thought of Islam in Pakistan, revealed a predominantly archaistic orientation uncongenial to the development of capital accumulation and modern industrialism, whether under state or private auspices. Not the national state, but the supranational religious community is the focus of much of Pakistani Islam's social thinking, so that the development of the political and legal prerequisites for any socialist movement is inhibited. George O. Totten of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology compared the relations between Buddhism and socialism in Burma and Japan. In the struggle against British rule Burmese socialism readily allied itself with Buddhism, since both represented aspects of the national thrust for independence. In Japan, socialism arose not with but against the stream of nationalism which had earlier established a connection with capitalistic industrialism, whose social consequences were the center of Japanese socialistic concern. Buddhism in Japan, which had no strong civil significance, was at best viewed with indifference by Japanese socialists. James W. Morley of Columbia University, who served as commentator in place of Will Herberg of Drew University, criticized the papers in terms of four variables affecting relations of religion and socialism: the nature of the religious creed and ecclesiastical structure; the type of socialism involved; the status and problems of the social strata affected by socialist ideas; and the special nature of each society's relation to the West. The discussion, conducted in terms of these criteria, vividly demonstrated the value of comparative historical analyses.

III

Another group of sessions stressed the comparison of institutions. The session on "Feudalism in History: A Reassessment," was presided over by Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University. John Whitney Hall of the University of Michigan devoted a large part of his paper on "Japanese Feudalism" to a discussion of the methodology of comparative history. He suggested that such terms as "feudalism" could be used effectively in a very general way as a key to the study of institutions that had both similarities and differences. He then surveyed those Japanese

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institutions that seemed to fall into this category, and briefly traced their development. Of particular interest to students of European feudalism was his demonstration that land grants were replaced by stipends toward the end of the period under consideration. Bryce Lyon of the University of Illinois presented a concise summary of the origins, development, and decline of "Western Feudalism." He then argued that the differences between Western and Japanese feudalism were so much greater than the similarities that the Japanese institutions cannot properly be called feudal. The commentator, Fred A. Cazel, Jr., of the University of Connecticut recognized certain similarities between European and Japanese feudalism. At the same time he maintained that historians would do well to describe past societies as accurately as possible in their own terminology and leave comparisons to sociologists. In the discussion it was pointed out that the two papers could hardly be expected to reach agreement, as their method of approach to the problem was entirely different. Several objected to leaving historical comparisons to the sociologists.

John U. Nef of the University of Chicago presided over the joint session with the Society of the History of Technology on "Technology and Culture." Lynn White, jr., of the University of California, Los Angeles, read a paper on "India, Tibet, and Malaya as Sources of Medieval Technology." Suggesting that important inventive ideas had come from this area, he traced their development in Europe from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. The problem around which the paper and the discussion centered was the reasons for the technological leadership achieved by Europe, one of the explanations for the triumph everywhere of industrialism. As the chairman pointed out, the sources of this industrialism, once sought mainly in the origins of capitalism, have been discovered now not only in many non-European areas, but also in many other fields of history than the economic. Science and technology are two of those that have been recently much explored. Other aspects of historical development—particularly cultural—remain to be studied. Robert I. Crane of the University of Michigan discussed "The Impact of Technological Innovation on Social and Cultural Values in Modern India." He stressed the resistance of old modes of living to technological innovation. This led him, with strong support from Arthur W. Hummel of the Library of Congress, who discussed both papers, to emphasize the fact that the values inherent in modern technology are by no means the only ones that are of moment to the human race at a time when the world has become economically and politically interdependent. The values of art are to a considerable extent independent of modern technology, and the human mind outside the West had perhaps much to teach Western civilization.

John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota presided over the joint session with the Economic History Association on "Agriculture and Industrialization." In a paper on "American Agriculture in the Process of Industrialization, with Some European Comparisons," William N. Parker of the University of North

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Carolina suggested that in a period of industrialization agriculture must be "squeezed" of both populations and food supplies by pressures greater than the price system ordinarily produces. He compared conditions in early nineteenth-century England with those in the United States in the last decades of the century. In the English cases he emphasized the role played by concentrated land ownership of an earlier period in creating an agricultural proletariat and in stimulating commercial production through the accompanying system of tenancy and money rents. In the United States, he suggested, the pressures on agriculture were less social than financial. Morris David Morris of the University of Washington read a paper on "The Recruitment of an Industrial Labor Force in Asia, with European and American Comparisons," in which he drew on case studies in areas as far removed as Bombay, India, Lancashire, and New England. He found that the pattern varied in each area. The child labor characteristic of English mills was of slight importance in Bombay, as was the large-scale use of unmarried women that was common in New England. Yet each proved able to recruit an adequate labor force with far less difficulty than has been generally assumed. In a detailed analysis of the papers, Eric Lampard of Smith College expressed the historian's reluctance to accept some of the distinctions and causal relationships.

Robert H. Bremner of Ohio State University presided over the session on "The History of Philanthropy." In the opening paper on "The Uses of Philanthropy in Victorian Society," David Owen of Harvard University examined the connection between philanthropic activity and public welfare policy. During most of the period Victorians assigned major responsibility for welfare to voluntary groups and charitable foundations. When the task exceeded the resources of private bodies a state welfare policy developed. Philanthropy was assigned the tasks of supplementing statutory social services and experimenting in fields not yet entered by the state. Irvin G. Wyllie of the University of Wisconsin discussed the pitfalls and complexities of "The Problem of Motive in American Philanthropy." He urged care in distinguishing between actual and attributed motives. Warning against the tendency to overemphasize ulterior motives and to underrate altruism in philanthropy, he suggested that historians adopt the judicial view that a selfish motive does not in itself discredit an act of charity. The commentator, Thomas H. Greer, Jr., of Michigan State University praised both papers as "significant contributions to the study of philanthropy—a subject much neglected by historians," and offered some information on Franklin Roosevelt's attitudes toward philanthropy. The questions and remarks of younger scholars and graduate students suggest a growing interest in the study of philanthropy.

The session on "Conservatives in the Twentieth Century" was under the chairmanship of Henry Cord Meyer of Pomona College. Eugen Weber of the University of California, Los Angeles, in a paper entitled "No Enemies on the Right," questioned the validity of the dictum "No Enemies on the Left" popular

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in French historical writing and political commentary since the 1890's. Careful investigation of French politics since that time showed quite the opposite: a persistent trend toward conservatism under camouflage of liberal slogans. In this light developments of the last two decades appear less to be a reversal of a longer trend than as its ultimate confirmation. A rather different view of "Right-Wing Political Parties in the Weimar Republic" was presented by Lewis Hertzman of Princeton University. Personalities like Hugenberg, Hergt, Stresemann, and Westarp and their parties have been neglected in the present era of interest in Social Democrats and Nazis. These conservative groups were weakened by their confused origins in 1918, and by consistent internal antagonisms that made their stand on public issues unduly sharp or awkward. By the early 1930's they had been reduced by antagonism and defeats to ineffective clusters around competing strong men and obvious foils for Nazi conspiracy. Klemens von Klemperer of Smith College commented that both papers were limited to governmental aspects of conservatism. The study of this phenomenon required a broader perspective: consideration of its spiritual sources and analysis of its nongovernmental aspects, such as movements like the Croix de Feu and the Heimwehr, or ideological groupings like the German neoconservatives. Discussion showed the need of clarifying now traditional conceptions of "right" and "left," the usefulness of studying conservatism in its regional context, and the importance of evaluating outside pressures on conservative ideas and policies.

"New Perspectives on World War II" was the subject of a joint session with the American Military Institute presided over by Stetson Conn of the Department of the Army. Louis Morton of the Department of the Army began his review of Pacific strategy by emphasizing that Japan, not the United States, started the war, and that American policy and action had been designed to deter, not provoke Japan. But in this case deterrents may have caused war. Another lesson may be drawn from Japan's intention to fight a limited war while starting a war in a way that made a negotiated peace impossible. Military rather than political factors dominated strategy toward the end in the Pacific; both the joint chiefs and General MacArthur felt Soviet entry essential, even though they recognized that a large price must be paid for it. Norman H. Gibbs of All Souls College, Oxford, discussed "Mediterranean Strategy in 1942–1944." Though recognizing British preference for a Mediterranean "end run" against Germany, he insisted that throughout the war Mediterranean strategy was essentially defensive and governed by only a limited desire for exploitation. Herbert Feis of the Institute for Advanced Study announced his intent to open new controversies rather than settle old ones, and began by casting strong doubt on the feasibility of a 1943 invasion of the Continent—a point which met with general agreement. George A. Lincoln of the United States Military Academy, the second commentator, stressed the necessity of viewing strategy in any area in the context of global war. He also raised questions as to whether the Pacific really was a secondary

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theater after Casablanca, and whether the surrender of Japan was truly unconditional, since it was arranged on terms.

At the luncheon session of the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado presided, and the chairman of the Conference for 1958, Geroid T. Robinson of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, read a paper entitled "The Communist, the Individualist, and the Machine." He noted that the Soviet leaders had challenged the United States to a "battle of production." It would be greatly to the disadvantage of the United States to accept the challenge in the terms in which it had been issued. First, there was no real assurance that the Soviet Union would hereafter concentrate on economic warfare alone. Second, the United States should not fight the economic battle as such, simply in terms of quantities of goods produced. The work process makes its own workers into a certain kind of human beings. Soviet society is committed to the mechanization of both the work process and the worker. American society should strive above all to make free men, and every problem of production should be evaluated in those terms. If we hold strictly to this criterion, we can, by promoting small farming and the associated handicrafts, be of great assistance in the building of a free non-Communist life in the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries. We should not be satisfied with a simple exportation of technology and capital to the underdeveloped countries for the sake of increasing their output. It is essential that our plants in those countries should pay their workers generously, associate them in some degree with management, and introduce some variety and interest into the work process itself.

IV

A variety of topics were touched upon in the field of European history before the modern period. The joint session with the American Society of Church History, led by George H. Williams of the Harvard Divinity School, was on "Christianity and Culture." Glanville Downey of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library discussed "Julian and Justinian and the Unity of Faith and Culture." In comparing the policy of Julian in disestablishing Christianity with that of Justinian in suppressing paganism, he placed emphasis on the role of classical literature in such centers of higher education as Gaza and Athens. In a paper on "Paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England," William Chaney of Lawrence College dealt with Germanic myth and cultic practices as perpetuated in Christian guise in England into the ninth century. He cleared the ground for his demonstration of extensive and persistent Germanic survivals by showing how earlier English scholars had, because of their classical training in Greco-Roman pagan law, been unable to recognize fully the distinctively Germanic features of Anglo-Saxon paganism with its striking parallels to Christian belief, notably in

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respect to the suffering god and the self-sacrificing ruler. Milton Anastos of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, commenting on the two papers, concentrated on the Christological policy of Justinian as further substantiation of the first paper.

The session on "The City-State in European History" was under the chairmanship of C. A. Robinson, Jr., of Brown University. In a paper on "The City-State in Antiquity: Some Reasons for Its Durability," John W. Snyder of Indiana University pointed out that the city was regarded in antiquity as the ideal political body. Its durability sprang from the protection it afforded, from its economic convenience, and from the idealism in which it was held. The upper classes were chiefly responsible for establishing and maintaining ancient cities. Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors used the urban upper classes for territorial administration. Marvin B. Becker of Western Reserve University discussed "The Republican City-State in Florence: Its Origin and Survival (1280–1434)." Two "social facts" encouraged the emergence of the republican city-state in Florence when despotism was triumphing in northern Italy. First, the guilds acted as the primary force for differentiating between public and private rights. Second, the emergence of new, wealthy citizens strengthened the machinery of government to the detriment of entrenched organizations and groups. In his comment, Robert S. Hoyt of the University of Minnesota suggested that in the first paper a clearer distinction might have been made between the ancient city-state and the medieval borough and other urban communities, and that the relation between town and country might have been expressed more clearly. He also noted that the second paper did not show how and why the industrial and commercial interests of the Florentines led to a fusion of the old aristocracy and the "newcomers," in contrast with the competition and exclusion that characterized other later medieval towns. The subsequent discussion was acute, lively, and often humorous.

Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University presided over the session on "Numismatic Contributions to the Study of the Middle Ages." Howard Adelson of City College of New York, in a paper on "Trade and Trade Routes during the Early Middle Ages," discussed a series of light-weight *solidi* struck by Byzantine mints in the sixth and seventh centuries. He suggested that these *solidi* had been coined for purposes of trading with the barbarians, and that the location of hoards containing them indicates the routes along which Byzantine-barbarian trade was active. In his comments, Robert Lopez of Yale University discussed the values and limitations of numismatic evidence in historical research and argued against giving too much weight to statistics based on hoards.

The annual dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, presided over by Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, was attended by two distinguished scholars from abroad, Helen M. Cam and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. After the dinner Deno J. Geanakoplos of the University of Illinois read a paper, "Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice," in which he stressed the importance of

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Venice as an intellectual center when Erasmus was preparing a new edition of the *Adages* for the Aldine Press. Members of the community of Byzantine scholars discussed philological and literary problems with Erasmus and lent him Greek manuscripts, some of which were hitherto unavailable in the West. Erasmus' own statements and the considerable number of new proverbs in the *Adages* reveal the extent of his indebtedness to Venice. This Venetian episode, combined with his influence, made Erasmus an important agent in the dissemination of Greco-Byzantine literature and learning throughout the West.

The joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research on "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Movement" was under the chairmanship of Walther Kirchner of the University of Delaware, president of the Society. The first speaker was Frederick G. Heymann of the State University of Iowa, who dealt with the "Hussite-Utraquist Church in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries." He showed that the Hussite movement gradually developed a right, a left, and a center, and he pointed out the importance of John Rokycana and his successors, whose guidance of the center gave vitality to the movement for over a century. The way was thus paved for the favorable reception of the Protestant Reformation and Luther in sixteenth-century Bohemia. William J. Bouwsma of the University of California, Berkeley, discussed "Sarpi and Religious Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." He pointed out Sarpi's pessimism, individualism, and antisacramentalism, and related Sarpi's thought to tendencies prevalent in the fourteenth century, which also influenced the Protestant reformers. He showed how Sarpi could insist on the Catholic orthodoxy of his views long after they had been rejected by the Counter Reformation; and he suggested that Sarpi was not an isolated figure. Comments by Otakar Odložilik of the University of Pennsylvania and Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon emphasized the speakers' points. The former underscored in particular the power of survival of Utraquism as opposed to that of the more radical trends among the followers of Huss. Discussion brought out the role of nationalism as an element in the persistence of the Hussite movement.

V

In the field of modern European history, the session on "The Hapsburg Monarchy," under the leadership of Robert A. Kann of Rutgers University, discussed economic and general administrative policies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Herman Freudenberger of Rutgers University read a paper on "Industrialization in Bohemia and Moravia in the Eighteenth Century," which dealt primarily with the period after the conclusion of the Silesian wars. He demonstrated that the governmental policy in the first postwar decades followed strictly mercantilistic principles. By the end of the 1770's these were, however, markedly liberalized. R. John Rath of the University of Texas offered a

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critical analysis of "Hapsburg Government in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814–1821." He started from the premise that the popular welcome greeting the Hapsburg troops in northern Italy as liberators in 1814 had changed to disappointment by 1821. Lack of coordinated administrative principles, slowness in adjustment to new conditions, and above all a far too limited recognition of local autonomy and insufficient understanding for traditions, customs, and aspirations of the Austro-Italian domains were chiefly responsible. The comments of Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester stressed in particular the necessity of linking the topics to the general intellectual and political currents and problems of the era. Thus industrialization in Bohemia and Moravia was related to the question of incipient Czech nationalism and Western physiocratic doctrine.

At the luncheon session of the Modern European History Section, presided over by Leo Gershoy of New York University, Hajo Holborn of Yale University read a paper on "Bismarck's *Realpolitik*." He suggested that a true appraisal of Bismarck calls for an analysis of the intellectual and religious ideas, as well as of the social and political forces that molded his mind in his formative years. Close examination shows that Bismarck was not affected by Hegel or the Young Hegelians or even by Schleiermacher, with whom he came into personal contact. But he was deeply influenced by those ideas in German literature that from the days of *Sturm und Drang* built up toward a realistic interpretation of the world. He also accepted the romantic cult of personality, which, together with a vague pantheism coupled with skepticism, might have led to a dissipation of his personality. His religious "conversion," followed by his marriage and entrance into politics, gave his life its ultimate purpose. In Germany he parted company with the old Christian conservatism, while he fought liberalism and democracy with even greater vigor, although his political outlook allowed him the use of many "revolutionary" devices. His policies are, however, ill described as *Realpolitik*, because they rest on principles. Their shortcomings drove the old Bismarck closer to naturalistic theories of nationalism, which the following generation could adapt to altogether irreligious philosophies.

"Extraconstitutional Factors in Modern European History" were discussed in a session presided over by William O. Aydelotte of the State University of Iowa. Norman Rich of Michigan State University, speaking on "Bismarck and the Prussian Court," identified the personalities of Bismarck and, to a lesser extent, of the three emperors he served as extraconstitutional factors exerting a major influence on modern German history. Bismarck's skill in dealing with William I and the support he received in return made possible his early successes, while his notable lack of foresight in dealing with William II paved the way for his eventual dismissal. George Curry of the University of South Carolina traced the development of "The Office of Private Secretary to the Sovereign" in Great Britain from its chance beginnings in the early nineteenth century to its present acceptability and usefulness. He discussed the characters of the successive holders

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of this office, the attitudes toward them of the sovereigns they served, and the relationship of these matters to the increasing efficiency and scope of the position. In his comment Klaus Epstein of Harvard University advocated a more restricted definition of "extraconstitutionality." He would limit it to the unauthorized or at least the controversial exercise of power, which would exclude the topics of the two papers and include other topics to which the term might be more properly applied.

David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri presided at the session on "Nineteenth-Century Democracy." In his paper "Democracy in Victorian England," which dealt with the Reform Act of 1867, Trygve R. Tholfsen of the University of California, Los Angeles, took issue with the view that England became a democracy primarily as a result of statutory changes in the electoral system. The Act of 1867 simply registered important extraparliamentary developments, notably the growing demand of middle-class radicals and advanced liberals for extension of the suffrage and the assimilation of skilled laborers into middle-class urban culture, which made them attractive allies to the bourgeois left. The paper of David I. Kulstein of San Jose State College on "Government Propaganda and the Working Class under Napoleon III" considered the efforts of Napoleon III's government to influence workers' opinion. The government used most of the available media in a constant campaign to publicize its concern with the welfare of the working class. Commentator D. C. Moore of Harpur College, State University of New York, maintained that the Reform Act of 1867, far from being the outcome of Liberal-labor cooperation, was a conservative measure passed by Conservatives with the intention of minimizing shifts in political power. He declared, moreover, that the decades of the century after 1867 reveal no evidence of an influential Liberal-labor coalition. Brief comments from the floor supported this position. Discussion of the second paper centered on possible extension of the inquiry to include the effectiveness of the government's propaganda.

Donald Grove Barnes of Western Reserve University was chairman at the joint session with the Conference on British Studies on "Nineteenth-Century Ireland." In a paper on "The Young Ireland Movement, 1842–1848," Helen F. Mulvey of Connecticut College posed the question: what kind of Ireland were the Young Irelanders hoping to create? Admitting that the central point in their program was an Irish legislature, she stressed the fact that they wished to go beyond a mere repeal of the Union of 1800 and were really asking for the dominion status of a later day. A paper by Lawrence J. McCaffrey of the State University of Iowa dealt with "The Attitude of the Protestant Gentry and the Catholic Clergy to the Home Government Association, 1870–1873." This organization was formed to unite all creeds and classes in a demand for an Irish parliament and to influence public opinion in both England and Ireland in favor of a federal arrangement. While federalism caught the fancy of the Irish masses at once, it failed to win the support of either the Catholic clergy or the Protestant

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gentry. Arnold Schrier of the University of Cincinnati supported most of the conclusions of the two papers, but he recommended greater emphasis on the revolutionary aspects of the Young Ireland movement after the death of Davis and suggested that the General Election of 1874 should be included in any discussion of the Association. Discussion from the floor was vigorous, and, as was appropriate for a topic on nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish relations, it ended with firm disagreement.

"Railroads in the First World War" was the subject of the joint session with the Lexington Group, over which Howard F. Bennett of Northwestern University presided. In a paper on "The German Drive on Paris in 1914," Helmut Haeussler of Wittenberg College discussed the planning and execution of the transportation aspects of the famous Schlieffen Plan and in so doing raised again the controversy over the feasibility of the plan in conception and the effectiveness of its execution. Haeussler concluded that "the Schlieffen idea was not logistically feasible in 1914 and . . . its technical shortcomings complemented its political shortcomings." In the second paper, "The Retreat through the Province of Limburg, November, 1918," Edwin T. Greninger of East Tennessee State College discussed the implications of the Dutch government's grant of authority to the German generals to withdraw their troops through the province of Limburg after the Armistice was signed. By permitting the General Staff to preserve a very large proportion of its total force, the action permitted it to maintain before the German people that the politicians rather than the army lost the war. Raymond Estep of the United States Air University read a paper on "The Russian Railway Service Corps and the Siberian Intervention," in which he recounted the negotiations of John F. Stevens with the Kerensky government. After discussing the organization, dispatch, and activities of the Railway Service Corps in the American venture into Siberia, he concluded that the Corps lost its original purpose of keeping Russia in the war, and in the end became an instrument of United States diplomacy in maintaining the Open Door in eastern Asia.

"Italy in Two World Wars" was the subject of the joint session with the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano (American Division) of which William C. Askew of Colgate University served as chairman. René Albrecht-Carrié of Barnard College, Columbia University, speaking on "Neutrality *vs.* Intervention, 1914–1915," placed this issue in the larger context of Italian policy. Italy's initial decision for neutrality was influenced by military deficiencies and by the British position, but also by implication a judgment that the Central Powers were the aggressors and were likely to be defeated. Italy's later intervention as a result of deliberate calculation not only destroyed the possibility of claiming self-defense but also divided the country. Howard M. Smyth of the Department of State, in discussing "The Armistice of Cassibile," gave an authoritative account of Italy's surrender in 1943. Outlining Allied, German, and Italian objectives, he found that Hitler did not plan to defend Italy south of

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Rome. The Italians, intent on avoiding conflict with the Germans, missed the best opportunity for an effective switch of sides immediately after Mussolini's overthrow. Both the Allies and the Germans aimed to eliminate the Italian army lest it cooperate with the other side. Commenting on the first paper, Kent Roberts Greenfield of the Department of the Army called attention to the fact that when war came in 1914 the national unification of Italy was still incomplete, not only in the territorial sense, but also in the sense of moral unity. Italy intervened to fight two wars, one with Austria to complete the *risorgimento,* and the other to enlarge her place in the Mediterranean sun. Norman Kogan of the University of Connecticut, commenting on the second paper, pointed to the concern of the Italians and the Allies with the political and social consequences of surrender. Victor Emmanuel III and his circle, he found, were still thinking in terms of an eighteenth-century image of international politics which ignored the realities of the twentieth century.

VI

A wide range of topics in terms of subject matter and chronological scope was included in the field of American political history. Helen M. Cam, President of the International Commission for the History of Assemblies, was chairman of the luncheon session of the American Committee, a branch of the International Commission. At this session Wilcomb E. Washburn, Acting Curator of the Division of Political History at the Smithsonian Institution, read a paper on "The Effect of Bacon's Rebellion on the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Relations between England and the Colony of Virginia." He showed how the rebellion revealed the incompetence of the royal government as well as the inability of the king's governor to command obedience. Uncertainty among the king's legal advisers about how to deal with rebellion resulted in chaos and bitterness in Virginia. Perhaps, indeed, the rebellion caused such a financial pinch in England that Charles II had to recall Parliament. In Virginia, again, the rebellion led to the assertion by the loyalists—not the rebels, paradoxically—of the colonial assembly's right to a coequal status with Parliament. Consequently the evolution of representative government in Virginia came after, rather than during, the rebellion.

"Democratic Action in Early American Politics" was discussed in a session under the chairmanship of Edmund S. Morgan of Yale University. Robert E. Brown of Michigan State University presented a paper on "Virginia on the Eve of Revolution: Aristocratic or Democratic," in which he argued that by most of the criteria generally used in discussing the question, Virginia qualified as a democracy. He particularly emphasized the fact, ascertained through his investigation of local records, that the great majority of adult males in colonial Virginia had the right to vote. E. James Ferguson of the University of Maryland discussed

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"Madison's Motive for a Discrimination, 1790: Ethics or Political Maneuver." He contended that the kind of discrimination Madison proposed would have been impracticable, and that Madison was motivated by a desire to win political popularity in Virginia. In his comments Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., of the University of Richmond raised questions about the criteria by which the authors had judged their respective questions. Several persons challenged Virginia's qualifications as a democracy on the ground that an aristocratic influence was exerted on Virginia voters. It was further emphasized that whatever political maneuvering Madison may have undertaken in 1790 was not inconsistent with a concern for ethical principle. The question was also raised whether the concepts of aristocracy and democracy had not outlived their usefulness as tools for the analysis of colonial society.

"The Lincoln-Douglas Debates" were reconsidered in a session presided over by Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania. Don E. Fehrenbacher of Stanford University placed "The Debates in Their Historical Setting." Considering this interchange in the light of its contemporary significance, he contended that Lincoln was primarily concerned with reaching the Senate rather than the presidency. He declared that the campaign helped Douglas' chances for 1860 rather than hindered them; Douglas, in his estimation, had lost the South by his opposition to Lecompton in 1857. Robert W. Johannsen of the University of Kansas read the second paper on "Stephen A. Douglas and the Territories." He emphasized the fact that Douglas was dedicated to western development and thought in practical terms of what was necessary to get people organized in the West. Douglas felt self-government was the most attractive lure. While he was not an antislavery idealist, he was a sincere believer in the right of men to rule themselves. Harry V. Jaffa of Ohio State University, in commenting on these papers, pointed out in terms of logic and political science analogy the faulty thinking of Douglas and the superb intellectual consistency of Lincoln.

The session on "American Foreign Policy at the Start of the Century" was presided over, in the absence of Samuel F. Bemis of Yale University, by Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University. Charles Vevier of the University of Rochester spoke first on "Imperial Aspects of American Continentalism." He analyzed the traditional elements in that concept—geographic determinism, political and social separation from Europe, independent action in foreign affairs—and then established a link between the pre-Civil War writings and activities of William Gilpin, Asa Whitney, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Perry McD. Collins with those of the later and more familiar figures of Alfred T. Mahan and Brooks Adams. Richard D. Challener of Princeton University then dealt with "The Military and the Formulation of American Foreign Policy, 1900–1914." He concluded that while the army and navy did not shape major decisions in these years, they did exert a measurable role. More important still, this period witnessed the beginning of an attempt to grapple with the troublesome question

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of the relationship between force and diplomacy. In his comments, Seward W. Livermore of Washington, D. C., noted that the two papers reflected the significant trend of giving a wider dimension to our foreign policy and of drawing upon new research materials. While dissenting on several minor points, he concurred in the desirability of exploring the topics further.

The joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on "Western Political Leadership" met under the chairmanship of George McGovern, congressman from South Dakota. Speaking on the theme, "Senator Thomas P. Gore and Oklahoma Public Opinion, 1917–1918," Monroe Billington of the University of South Dakota concluded that Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1920 primarily because of his attitude toward American participation in World War I. Concentrating on George W. Norris' relations with House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, Richard Lowitt of Connecticut College traced "The Making of an Insurgent, 1902–1910." He developed the theme that no single dramatic event was responsible for the Nebraska legislator's shift from a regular to an insurgent Republican. As Norris and his insurgent friends pushed their fight for reform of the rules during the period 1908–1910, they felt the sting of the Speaker's patronage and committee appointment power. In his paper on "William Lemke and the Union Party" E. C. Blackorby of Dickinson State Teachers College expressed the view that the congressman was "an agrarian radical and a fervent exponent of a monetary solution for most national ills." He himself was not a hatemonger, but he accepted support from some of the fringe "hate" elements in his discredited bid for the presidency during the third party movement in 1936.

"The Republican Revival, 1937–1938," was the subject of a session led by James Reston of the New York *Times,* in place of Wilfred E. Binkley of Ohio Northern University. Milton Plesur of the University of Buffalo, speaking for "The Winners" in the 1938 election, attributed the Democratic decline to the Supreme Court fiasco, the recession, and the President's attempted intraparty purge. Labor unrest, agrarian disaffection, and scandals in relief administration also hurt the party. Robert E. Burke of the University of Washington discussed the position of "The Losers," and noted that President Roosevelt held aloof from the campaign in most states, apparently determined to avoid Wilson's famous "mistake" of 1918. While Roosevelt was unable to extend the New Deal, he did hold it intact; he even extended his control over the party. In his comments, Wallace E. Davies of the University of Pennsylvania observed that many discredited Republican leaders of an earlier era had vanished by 1938, and the party had brought forth several younger men of ability such as Stassen, Taft, Saltonstall, and Dewey. He expressed the view that neither paper came to grips with why the election turned out as it did.

At the annual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association under the chairmanship of Frederick Merk of Harvard University, Frank Freidel of

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Harvard University presented a paper on "The New Deal Twenty-Five Years Later." The New Deal began at a time when the nation was floundering in its worst depression. Few leaders in business and politics, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, had many ideas on how to end it, except through expending limited sums on public works and keeping the budget balanced. Roosevelt, basically conservative, possessed faith in balanced budgets, willingness to experiment, and brilliant political skill. In the wide panoply of early recovery legislation, especially the NRA and the AAA, he tried to provide benefits for every group. By 1935, impelled more by the discontent of the dispossessed than by attacks from the well to do, he moved toward a reform program. It is easy to overemphasize the differences between the so-called first and second New Deals. Roosevelt never abandoned his earlier economic bases. His second term is important for the shift in Supreme Court decisions to allow almost unlimited government regulations, and the recasting and consolidation of earlier New Deal economic changes. This is the period when stabilizers were first built into the economy.

VII

The social and economic aspects of American history were also treated in a number of sessions. The joint session with the American Studies Association, under the chairmanship of George Rogers Taylor of Amherst College, discussed "American Technology on the Eve of the Civil War." In a paper on "The Uniqueness of American Industrialization, as Reported by European Observers, 1830–1860," Marvin Fisher of the University of Arizona reported that the surprise of most European travelers at finding a rapidly expanding industrialization in this agrarian paradise is repeatedly reflected in their accounts. On the whole they viewed American industrialization as a blessing, but some accounts saw danger in the sharp contrast evident in the rural as compared to the industrial segment of American life. In discussing "Two Kingdoms of Force: Technology and the Literary Imagination in America" Leo Marx of Amherst College emphasized the dominance of the machine image in American literature. He held that American writers typically set this image in opposition to that of landscape, and illustrated his point by examples from Hawthorne, Thoreau, Melville, Adams, Faulkner, and others. He stated that this duality represents the opposition between two ideas of man's relation to nature; the metaphor of contradiction has often been used to arouse feelings of dislocation, fear, or alienation. Perhaps its most dramatic use appears in the *Education of Henry Adams*. In his discussion of the two papers, Kendall Birr of State Teachers College, Albany, New York, agreed with the speakers on the importance of the impact of technology on American thought. He found the first paper unclear on whether the writings of foreign observers contribute reliable evidence on the facts of industrialization, and observed that the second paper had left unexplained the causes for the

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contrasting views of American technology held by literary artists and by the great majority of Americans.

T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University presided over the joint session with the Southern Historical Association on the subject of "Southern Scholarship." Roger W. Shugg of the University of Chicago reviewed the relationship of "University Presses and Southern Scholarship." There are few if any commercial publishers in the South; the university presses are the only agency that can fill the South's publishing needs. Of one thousand books reviewed in the *Journal of Southern History* within a given period, over five hundred were published by university presses. The leading southern presses were discussed in terms of the problems and functions of university press publishing. Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University read a paper on "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and the Image of the South." Conceding Phillips' contributions and craftsmanship, he contended that the Georgian had several serious shortcomings. Phillips identified himself with the planter class and the states' rights program and was influenced by concepts of racial superiority. In commenting on the papers, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina said that the university presses at times concentrated on subjects that were too local and that they tended to avoid current issues. Questioning the view that Phillips was the spokesman of the planters, he pointed out that in his time data on other social classes was not available. A lively discussion from the floor followed.

The session on "Business Failures in American History" presided over by Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College presented papers on the downfall of two business titans, Nicholas Biddle and Samuel Insull. Entirely aside from their separation of a century in time, the circumstances of the two instances presented more differences than similarities. Thomas P. Govan of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church read the paper on "The Fall of the House of Biddle, 1841." After a brief survey of Biddle's earlier experiences in the Jackson period, Govan focused on Biddle's efforts to keep the banks and economy going through the successive crises of the late thirties and early forties. He narrowly missed gaining the time essential for saving the economy. On the other hand, Forrest McDonald of the American History Research Center, in discussing "The Fall of the House of Insull, 1932," interpreted this business leader as somewhat naïve in the realm of finance. Insull was portrayed as essentially a man interested in operation and management, and his great utility companies in the Midwest were conservatively capitalized and soundly run. The fear that other capitalists would secure control of his utility empire drove Insull into the complexities of his holding companies. The commentator, Peter J. Coleman of Washington University, thought further research and more fruitful synthesis was essential for an understanding of business failure.

The question of "Progressivism and American Education" was reviewed in the joint session with the History of Education Society under the chairmanship

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of Merle L. Borrowman of the University of Wisconsin. Lawrence A. Cremin of Columbia University presented an analysis of "Progressivism and American Education, 1890–1920" which demonstrated that a study of the relationship of school reform to other social reform during this period yields a more adequate understanding of both progressivism in general and of progressive education in particular. He documented his argument by citations showing the very close parallel between new pedagogical doctrines and the view of the ideal community held by agrarian reformers, settlement house workers, industrial reformers, and political reformers. Robert H. Beck of the University of Minnesota, in his paper on "Progressivism and American Education, 1920–1940," argued that the progressive education movement in this period, while not denying the community emphasis of the earlier era, turned its primary attention to the development of individual creativity through play and other self-expressive activity. He illustrated his point by giving rather detailed descriptions of the educational experiments of Margaret Naumberg and Caroline Pratt. He maintained that the newer progressive educators identified themselves with the literary and artistic *avant garde* rather than with political reformers. Robert A. Lively of Princeton University centered his comments on a distinction between the definition of "progressive" implicit in the two papers. The second paper, he maintained, had used a far more specialized definition relevant only to the specific pedagogical practices of people calling themselves progressive educators, whereas the kind of reform sentiment that marked the earlier period continued to exist in the 1920's and flourished in the 1930's. Where, he asked, were the progressive educators when the New Dealers were remaking American life and sharply influencing American education through such activities as NYA and the CCC? General comment from the floor supported this view that during the 1920's and 1930's the pedagogical reformers were cut off from the more powerful elements in general social reform.

The session of "Theodore Roosevelt, Progressivism, and the Corporation," was held under the chairmanship of John M. Blum of Yale University in the absence of Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin. In discussing "The Antitrust Law, 1901–1909," Arthur M. Johnson of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration argued that Theodore Roosevelt's substitution of the "uncertainty of executive . . . discretion" for the "certainty of law and the orderliness of legal processes," his use of moral rather than economic standards in judging business, the unevenness of his antitrust policy, and the lack of restraint in his attacks on his critics created "unnecessary hostility among businessmen" but helped "to counter demands for more drastic action" and thus "left the large corporation as the dominant feature of the American business scene and its managers with increased awareness of their social responsibilities." In his paper on "The Anticorporation Movement and Progressivism: The Case of the South," Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of Vanderbilt University attributed southern antimonopoly sentiment to the legacy of the agrarian revolt, the demands of

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southern commercial interests, and "the widespread revulsion against the alliance of corporate wealth and conservative political factions." The anticorporation movement "served as the rallying point for progressive politics in the South," but the goals it achieved were modest for southern progressive leaders, while against big business, were not antibusiness, and were careful not to discourage northern investment. In a commentary that provoked gentle but gratifying dissention, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology first asked why the urban middle class in the South was "so much more concerned about the older railroads than about the new industrials," and then noted that during the Progressive era "few men understood the nature of oligopoly or made a distinction between oligopoly and monopoly. . . ."

An intimate and eloquent account of "The Resettlement Idea," a neglected aspect of the New Deal, was presented in the address of Rexford G. Tugwell of Greenbelt, Maryland, at the luncheon session of the Agricultural History Society, under the chairmanship of Harry J. Carman of Columbia University. The Resettlement Administration of which the speaker himself was the administrator was established in 1935 and existed with its original name and functions for three years. Its large plan soon met with opposition from many sides. The lobbying organizations of the more prosperous farmers convinced the Congress that their less successful neighbors did not deserve aid; private builders opposed the construction of suburbs with public funds; and public sentiment as reflected in the press opposed federal intervention in the private affairs of the destitute. This narrative of social organization, political opposition, and eventual defeat was presented for the lessons that it offered to posterity, and these were summarized with a wisdom from which bitterness had long since been distilled. Judicious administration and political astuteness are necessary if such ventures are to succeed, but mere caution is no virtue.

VIII

Several sessions were devoted to the history of the close neighbors of the United States. At the luncheon session of the Conference on Latin American History, under the chairmanship of John Tate Lanning of Duke University, George M. Addy of Brigham Young University read a paper on "The University of Salamanca and the Spanish Enlightenment." The reform of the University of Salamanca in 1771 is usually considered to have been imposed upon the institution by the enlightened ministers of Charles III. This interpretation overlooks the fact that a generation earlier some members of the cloister made strenuous efforts to reform. When the medical faculty's plan met opposition in the full cloister, the faculty appealed to Madrid. This appeal engendered the reform measures of the Council of Castile. The influence of the Enlightenment upon the reform is clearly seen in the advanced plans offered by the faculties of medi-

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cine and art. The application of the plan of studies of 1771 encountered little opposition on the intellectual plane. Rather, hostility to reform crystallized around the efforts of the cloister to preserve its remaining shreds of autonomy and the salaries and perquisites of the professors. Thus, if the University of Salamanca is any indication, historians should at last take note of the desire for reform and enlightenment that surged up from within long-standing Spanish institutions. "Bourbon reform" is a convenient chronological term. It by no means indicates the source of the ferment of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Spain.

The joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association on "The Enlightenment and the Church in Latin America," was presided over by John Francis Bannon, S. J., of St. Louis University. John Tate Lanning of Duke University opened his discussion of the relationship of the universities to the Enlightenment with the observation that the American scholar in the field of Hispanic culture must give as much attention to the bias of his public as to his research. He must demolish many myths. Within the universities both the lay professors and the clerics gave enthusiastic backing to many of the aspects of the Enlightenment, such as the development of useful knowledge, interest in scientific research, and the propagation of new medical discoveries. When opposition to the Enlightenment appeared, it was either on the grounds of a dogmatic position or by clerical groups. Karl M. Schmitt of the University of Texas analyzed the attitude of the clergy proper toward the Enlightenment in Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia. He noted that even though there was no unanimity among the clergy, the churchmen still played a major role in introducing and spreading "enlightened" doctrines in philosophy, science, economics, and politics. Few churchmen, he noted, supported or opposed the movement *in toto;* there was a large measure of eclecticism. In his comments, Clement G. Motten of Temple University reiterated the necessity of breaking down existing but unfounded beliefs regarding the position of the established intellectual forces, the university and the clergy, in eighteenth-century Latin America.

The centenary of the death of William H. Prescott was appropriately commemorated at the joint session with the Conference on Latin American Studies presided over by Thomas F. McGann of the University of Texas in the absence of Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University. C. Harvey Gardiner of Southern Illinois University presented a three-pronged approach in his "Prescott and the World." First, Prescott's masterworks were viewed in terms of the evolving scholarship of the past century. Next, Gardiner dissolved certain myths attached to Prescott, among them the belief that his pursuit of materials was exhaustive. Finally, Gardiner enlarged knowledge of the Boston historian by revealing Prescott's intense "promotion" of his books, his assistance to an influence on United States and Latin American historians, and his ultimate achievement—the broadening of the American mind to a more just understanding of Spanish-

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American history. Guillermo Céspedes of the Universidad de Sevilla evaluated Prescott with words of admiration and gratitude for his lifelong work in the history of Spain, but also with criticism of Prescott's considerable flaws visible in the perspective of over a century. The solid content of Prescott's studies was in part a function of his good fortune in approaching those archives at a moment when they were first opened to the investigator and when extensive documentary collections had been made by Spanish historians. He also commented on the excessive formalism and passion for Plutarchian parallels in Prescott's style, and the shallowness of his knowledge of Spanish Moslem and American indigenous history. The commentator, Wilfrid H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, after welcoming both papers as valid and complementary contributions to the knowledge of Prescott, introduced other considerations, especially contemporary literary influences on Prescott's style.

The session on "Nationalism and Regionalism in Recent Canadian History" met under the chairmanship of W. L. Morton of the University of Manitoba. In his paper on "Nationalism in Canadian History," D. G. Creighton developed the theme that Canadian historians in the past generation have come to see the development of a Canadian national spirit as being the result of neither an anti-British nor an anti-American animus, but as a positive Canadian achievement. This perception arises from a profounder analysis of Canadian history than the past had known, and in particular from the work of the late H. A. Innis. On the countertheme of "Regionalism in Canadian History," George F. G. Stanley of the Royal Military College of Canada described the extent and inevitability of regional historical writing in Canada. He pointed out how in the recent past much of this writing had been the work of professional historians who wrote in no parochial spirit, but had made regional history a reinforcement of national history. In commenting, Guy Frégault of the Université de Montréal deplored the perhaps excessive concern of Canadians with nationalism. Regionalism, he argued, is of more than one kind. There are metropolitan regions and hinterland regions and the two must not be treated as though they were one. In discussion, the last point was underscored.

IX

Some of the best-attended sessions were concerned with professional problems of general interest to historians. At the session on "The Profession of the Historian in Past Centuries," over which William H. Coates of the University of Rochester presided, two distinct approaches to the topic were made. Leonard Krieger of Yale University, speaking on "History and Law: Pufendorf," showed how significant for historiography were certain aspects of seventeenth-century intellectual history, particularly the writings of jurists who espoused both law and history. Of these Pufendorf was the most representative. He gave an

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empirical cast to natural law doctrine and he used *raison d'état* so as to provide a criterion common to his legal and historical works. John Clive of Harvard University, in his paper on "History and the Historian: Macaulay," observed that the Macaulay letters and journals at Trinity College, Cambridge, leave unchanged the main features of Sir George Trevelyan's Macaulay. But behind the appearance of Macaulay's cocksureness the papers disclose unhappiness at school, conflict with his father, occasional bouts of depression, and a delicate sensibility. They also reveal Macaulay as a shrewd observer of men and manners, with a delight in the drama and pageantry of history in the making, and a highly developed fantasy life which sharpened his historical imagination. In his comments Fritz Stern of Columbia University raised some doubts about Krieger's opening remarks concerning the implications of autonomy for history and about Clive's psychological analysis. In the main, however, Stern thought that each paper was appropriate to its subject and consonant with its sources.

The joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies was devoted to "Russian History in Undergraduate Education," with Robert F. Byrnes of Indiana University presiding. John M. Thompson of the Social Science Research Council, in his paper on "Teaching Russian History," first summarized briefly his discoveries concerning the treatment of non-Western areas in undergraduate education in the Indiana colleges. He proposed a number of practical remedies, including establishment of a fellowship program for faculty members who have not had an opportunity to undertake specialized study of Russia; in a determined effort by administrators to appoint instructors with "double-competence"; agreement that graduate history departments should offer courses in Russian history taught by a trained specialist and that every graduate student majoring in European history should devote some study to the history of Russia and Eastern Europe; and greater attention to Russia and other non-Western areas in American secondary education. George B. Carson, Jr., of the Service Center for Teachers of History then discussed "Interpreting Russian History." He emphasized that scholarship and instruction should not concentrate on modern Russian history, and he supported the comparative historical approach and acceptance of coexistence. Ralph T. Fisher of the University of Illinois concentrated his comments upon the first paper, suggesting several other practical methods by which Russian history could be introduced effectively into undergraduate education. In the general discussion, the idea of accepting coexistence with the USSR met with considerable criticism. General agreement was expressed with the practical suggestions made, although some believed no one should teach Russian history who did not know Russian and who had not had intensive training.

"The Implications of Photocopy and Microfilm for the Scholar" was the subject of a session led by Robert B. Eckles of Purdue University. William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist of Canada, discussed "The Scholar and His Use of

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Microfilm" from the point of view of the administrative archivist. The growth recently in the quantity of microfilm available and requested presents to the librarian and archivist certain old problems and a few new ones. Discussion ranged over the restrictions of donors on source material and the dangers to be found in copying microfilm materials that might come under the copyright laws. Legal and moral problems of the librarian were said to have been made more acute by the requests for reproduction of parts of microfilm collections. The use of sources by graduate students to the detriment of more mature scholarship was also a problem that microfilm has imposed on librarians. Who should be allowed first use, or be given privileges, the graduate student or the established scholar? The paper by Richard W. Hale, Jr., of Boston University was a description of the forthcoming "Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada." Hale described the book as one listing primarily manuscripts and imprints to be found in the archives and libraries of both countries. He described briefly the organization as that of accepted guides to historical sources. Verner W. Clapp of the Council of Library Resources, commenting on the two papers, expressed the view that the "Guide" should meet a great need for information and a more correct listing of sources in photocopy. He described problems of the archivist in listing and in making available sources in microfilm. He also advocated the increased use of photocopied materials by scholars. One obstacle was the failure to develop a viewer that could be purchased cheaply and then easily used in the home or office. Discussion from the floor reflected the feeling that microfilm need not necessarily increase the difficulties of the librarian and archivist. Regarding the "Guide," the need was stressed for a careful definition of collections and categories of manuscripts.

"Documenting Central European History" was the subject of the joint session of the Conference Group for Central European History, of which Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia was chairman. Paul R. Sweet, United States Editor-in-Chief of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* summarized the status of this tripartite project. To date eleven volumes have been published in the English translation series and eight additional volumes are in preparation. These nineteen volumes will cover the period 1933–1941. Extensive microfilming has been accomplished outside the years covered by the published series, making the total collection "more accessible for historical study than any comparable collection of European foreign office papers." Gerhard Weinberg of the University of Kentucky spoke on "Nazi Party and Military Records," with particular reference to the cooperative program of microfilming that the American Historical Association and the National Archives at the World War II Records Division in Alexandria, Virginia, are conducting. Under this program, begun in 1956 and supported by foundations, over three million pages of documents have been filmed. Data sheets are prepared for each film roll. Positive copies of the filmed

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materials and the mimeographed guides are distributed by the National Archives. Commenting on the impression left by work with this mass of documentation, he described the impact as "depressing" because "the depravity of the system . . . infected all areas of German life." "The Hapsburg Archives" was the title of the paper presented by Friedrich Engel-Janosi, of Catholic University of America. The first Austrian archives were a part of the dynastic "Kunst und Wunderkammer," only later gaining separate identity as archival collections. September 13, 1749, is accounted the "birthday" of the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv," established by order of Maria Theresa. The present structure and organization of the Austrian archives date from 1945, when the five principal divisions were grouped to form the "Österreichische Staatsarchiv." The speaker surveyed the principal resources of the archives for historians of Central Europe and indicated the losses and dispersals suffered in 1918 and during World War II. They are in order again, the speaker stated, and foreign scholars will find in the Staatsarchiv a warm welcome.

At the luncheon session of the Society of American Archivists, over which Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives presided, Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University presented "Some Reflections on the Clark Manuscripts Case." Two federal courts have held that the manuscripts of William Clark produced during the course of the Lewis and Clark expedition, discovered in 1953 and still held *in camera* by the court, were created for purely personal reasons and that the federal government had no title to them. Judge Gunnar H. Nordbye, who delivered an opinion, did not rule on the government's claim that it had original title because these were records that an official wrote in the performance of duty and in consequence of orders. Gazing steadily past the facts and using two different premises for ascertaining the nature of documents that were essentially a chronological unit, the court pursued its object with Olympian intransigence. The important principle for which the government contended thus disappeared in a fog of legalism. What some hoped and others feared would become a landmark decision in the history of archival progress became a routine pronouncement on private property. The Archivist of the United States, disavowing any purpose to disturb those official records preserved and made accessible in responsible institutions but refusing to compromise with those who would make merchandise of federal records, did not initiate the litigation and had no legal alternative but to assert the public claim when the issue was forced upon him. The issue remains and requires legal definition. When it arises, it is to be hoped that the courts will reject the doctrine of utility developed by Judge Nordbye and that the Archivist of the United States will call upon the American Historical Association to appoint a committee of representative persons, including lawyers, to agree upon and persuade others to adopt equitable procedures that would accommodate legitimate private interest and public right.

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X

The annual dinner of the Association drew the usual large attendance, with Leonard Carmichael of the Smithsonian Institution serving as toastmaster.

This was the occasion for the announcement by Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, of the recipients of the prizes and awards offered by the American Historical Association for distinguished historical writing. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for a monograph in the field of European history was awarded to Arthur Wilson of Dartmouth College for his *Diderot: The Testing Years;* with honorable mention to Andreas Dorpalen of Ohio State University for his *Heinrich Treitschke.* The George Louis Beer Prize for the best work on European international history since 1895 was awarded to Victor Mamatey of Florida State University for *The United States and East Central Europe;* with honorable mention to James W. Morley of Columbia University for *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia, 1918.* The Albert J. Beveridge Award for the best original manuscript in the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada went to Paul Conkin of Southwestern Louisiana Institute, for his "Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program"; with honorable mention to Howard Zinn of Spelman College for his "Conscience of the Jazz Age: Fiorello La Guardia in Congress." The John H. Dunning Prize for a monograph in American history was awarded to Marvin Meyers of the University of Chicago for *The Jacksonian Persuasion;* with honorable mention to Robert Bremner of Ohio State University for his *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States,* and to Robert D. Cross of Swarthmore College for *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America.* The Watumull Prize for a work on the history of India published in the United States was awarded to William Theodore de Bary of Columbia University and his collaborators for their edition of *Sources of the Indian Tradition.*

The main event of the evening was the address of Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas, President of the Association, who selected as his theme "History as High Adventure." His sparkling, personal narrative, warmly received by his colleagues, was published in the January, 1959, issue of *The American Historical Review.*

In concluding his report of the 1958 meeting, the Program Chairman wishes to express his gratitude to the Executive Secretary, Boyd C. Shafer, and to the many members of the Association who gave generously of their time as members of the Committees on Program and on Local Arrangements and as participants in the program.

Princeton University C. E. Black

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The Year's Business, 1958

REPORT FOR 1958 OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR

As historians our ideal is dispassionate search for truth about the past, the past as it was, the past as the foundation of our own societies. As a profession our first concern is always to see that this inquiry goes on, that our understanding of the past and hence of the present may deepen. In our present society, how do we fare? Is it wise, even mandatory, for us once more to reexamine and reevaluate, as Thucydides did and many a historian since has done, our functions, our responsibilities, our duties?

The first fact about our present society that strikes the eye is that it is affluent. It can afford huge athletic stadiums, chromium-covered, power-packed automobiles, and intercontinental, perhaps interplanetary, missiles. The second fact that strikes the historian is that historians still work in an economy of scarcity. We who do research, teach, and write cannot reach our potentialities because our funds for research, for books, documents, and manuscripts, for travel, for publication, and for graduate fellowships are limited.

Possibly the reasons for our relative poverty in the midst of abundance lie deep in our culture. Possibly pragmatic Americans, desirous of creature comforts, do not highly value history. Possibly frontier-minded Americans would rather examine outer space than peer into the murky depths of the past. But possibly, too, we historians have not clearly made known our needs and the values of historical study. Possibly we have not adjusted our thinking and our activities to the present affluent society. Possibly, seeing the consequences of affluence, we are not (and perhaps should not be) eager to share it in every respect.

We historians and this Association, it must be affirmed immediately, have been afforded support by our society. More historians are teaching more history than ever before. More books called historical are being published and a goodly number of these are significant historical works. Foundation grants are going to historians and to historical groups such as this Association. Though our personal incomes lag behind the national averages and those of other professions, in the material aspects of our lives we are better off than the historians among our ancestors.

We must also note that we as scholars do not ordinarily desire much in the way of personal material goods. Every material possession requires care and all except books, historical artifacts, documents, manuscripts, and writing materials take time from historical learning. In the United States many families, including those of professors, have a house surrounded by a yard, but grass, shrubbery, lawnmowers, clippers, and sprays are all enemies of the intellect. And so are many of the gadgets of the affluent society that consume and waste time—the TV sets,

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for example, on which appear programs aimed at the adolescent and the mediocre in order to promote mass consumption, which in turn consumes more time. What we individually want to do as scholars is pursue historical studies as our own intelligence, conscience, and will demand, and to render a service by our teaching and our publications that brings understanding of the past to our fellow citizens. Do we as scholars acquire many material things or allow them to dominate us, we impair our scholarship. If we even acquire in great numbers what we as historical scholars value most, books, we risk the danger of being smothered under the details of indexes and catalogues that face and bedevil the librarians. Perhaps the intellectual in fifth-century Athens could produce his marvelous works precisely because he desired little in the way of material goods and hence could devote himself to study and reflection.

In our reflective moods we admit all this and believe that we, on the whole and in spite of poverty, live good lives, lives we would not trade for those of automotive magnates with their Cadillac-size salaries. Our fellows may poke fun at scholars, but our society gives us or allows us to earn a living doing research, writing, teaching, and reading history. And to do these things is to have fun, to be creative, and even to be useful. One danger, indeed, may be that scholarship will be swallowed up in the waves of merchandise pouring off assembly lines and blatantly jammed into our homes by radio and television.

Do we want to be affluent, then, if affluency merely means material wealth? The answer is, of course, no. For ourselves we want affluence insofar as it promotes scholarship. We do not want riches if they destroy our reason for being, the dispassionate search for truth about the past. And so before we try to be affluent, we must ask about consequences. Suppose we should obtain governmental aid in the large amounts now going to scientists. To what extent would we have to give up our freedom to think, to be critical, to write and teach history? Suppose we should be able to obtain huge foundation grants by talking about "experimental studies on the frontiers of thought," will these grants be for what we historians know to be of first importance, the recovery of the past so that men of the present may better be able to understand themselves? Suppose, by some miracle, that we obtain the salaries we know we deserve, will there be a *quid pro quo*? Would in every respect this be *pro bono publico* of the historical community?

Still, when we think of the millions devoted to scientific research, of the tens of millions spent on recreation, of the billions allotted to the national defense, we historians cannot but conclude that we work in an economy of unnecessary and undesirable scarcity. Our needs for funds for research, for publication, for graduate fellowships, for the improvement of instruction in the secondary schools are far from being met. If only we had the means, we could do so much more to provide our society with the quality of historical insights it ought to possess.

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To state this truism is to indulge in a generality with which we will all agree quickly, perhaps too quickly.

When I was a young man I wrote a wonderful plea for liberal education. At least I thought it was wonderful, until I sent it to a friend for comment. He replied in substance, "All you say is easy to say. But how, specifically, can we reach these wonderful general goals, goals to which, incidentally, no one will object? What is necessary is not platitudes but concrete suggestions. When we begin to talk in terms of what can actually be accomplished, of specific ways and means, then we meet the difficult obstacles. The 'how' is the tough question."

What we can accomplish depends much more upon the human resources than upon the material. Here we fare more abundantly, though the problem of how best to use our manpower has no easy answer. We all must concentrate upon our own work, earning our own living. Few of us can afford to give much time to what might be called the public historical interest, and it must be said that a few do not or will not give any time. But there are enough of us with energy, will, and public spirit to hope that we may improve the quality of historical work in America. At this moment, with the human resources we have, we can reasonably expect to move forward if we can somehow adjust to the affluent society.

To most of us the financial aspects of our work are distasteful. Rightly or wrongly—and I think rightly—we have not occupied ourselves much with mundane affairs. Yet historical training and research are not inexpensive and require substantial financial public support from taxes, from Medici-minded patrons, or from modern foundations. Before more public support can be obtained, however, we need to know more definitely than we have what we would now like to do.

Foremost in the minds of many historians is research resulting in publication. Is it time to look hard at fundamental questions? Is it time to ask once more why we so much stress research? What is it that we wish to accomplish? When I was younger I thought in positivist fashion that all we had to do was to get all the facts, fill in the gaps, and then write definitive histories, and that all this was only a matter of time and the expenditure of energy. Then the experiences of my own research and the emergence of philosophic relativism had their effect. As I grow older I become less certain, more skeptical about the chances of success. The records of the past are partial, spotty, and too often scanty. We mortals are limited in our capabilities and our energies as well as in the number of our productive years. We cannot recover more than a part of the past. When we are able to fill in gaps, others appear. If we recover the facts, their meanings change. The interpretations of today slide into those of tomorrow and those of tomorrow. Moreover, conditioned by history and our own times as we historians are, can we escape, stand outside, and write "objectively"? To write a "definitive" history that lasts as a definitive work more than twenty years, a historian would have to possess supernatural powers and none whom I know does. Nevertheless, we

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must strive toward an intelligent understanding of the past, for the present needs this understanding. Indeed, without it the present is meaningless.

The goal is lofty, a full and faithful representation of the past and an intelligent understanding of it so that contemporary men may understand themselves. As historians we can have no higher ideal; and though we may never attain it, our efforts to reach it must never cease. But with this as our goal, is our present research unnecessarily and unwisely fragmented? Are there any kinds of teamwork we should try? Are there any patterns for research we should seek or establish? Would any collective enterprise or any pattern restrict our individual imaginations and limit our freedom of inquiry?

Individually or collectively, where should we now press our researches? What fields of history need strengthening? If some do, how shall we move to strengthen them? Shall it be as we are doing in South Asian history under the leadership of Professor Holden Furber, by the provision of visiting professors from the areas concerned? If this is one good way, what are others? Again, can we learn more than we have supposed from the social sciences, the other humanities, and the natural sciences? Once historians thought that they could learn from the techniques and methods of the last. Now we think that we can learn from the anthropologists and psychologists. But can we go beyond or behind the generalities? Can we learn more than the few vague generalities we have so far gleaned? Or is the study of history a separate and independent discipline? Will false analogies from the social sciences lead us astray as those from the natural sciences almost did?

To ask these questions is not to answer them. Questions come first, but they can be answered not by comtemplative rhetoric but only through consideration of concrete problems. The tough concrete "how" must be faced in every and any case. When and how shall we again make the forward thrusts? It has been twenty-six years since an Association committee, headed by Langer and Schlesinger, published *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities.* Should not the profession begin once more to put its individual minds and its collective intelligence to the task of describing our research needs and opportunities?

Research is one of our activities. The education of young historians is another. We want the best students and the best training for them. Are we getting our share of them in these days of competition for the "high level" students? And are we preparing them not only for research but for effective teaching? To answer these questions and others our Committee on Graduate Education, headed by Professor Dexter Perkins, has begun a comprehensive study. The first questionnaires have just gone out and the Committee's representative, Professor John Snell of Tulane University, will soon begin visits to various departments about the country. We anticipate an enlightening report sometime in 1960, a report

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that we hope will lead the way to further studies of the whole of our education as historians.

On a different level and in a different way we are attacking, with the guidance of a committee led by Professor Sidney Painter, the problems of the high school in the teaching of history. As these lines are being written, we have published fifteen pamphlets summarizing recent research and listing accessible authorities in the various fields of history. At least ten more pamphlets are to come. These pamphlets, produced by the Service Center of the Association and edited by its director, Dr. George Carson, are designed to help high school teachers. They have been warmly received by the teachers and others. Their circulation now totals over 100,000 and will undoubtedly go to twice this number. The Service Center, too, has arranged for more than a dozen highly successful conferences of high school teachers and professional historians. Although the individual consultant service of the Center has not been widely used, the Center has, by and large, fulfilled our hopes for it. We have recognized the high school teachers as individuals with scholarly interests. We have provided them with a place to go for information and with "content" for their high school courses. We have begun "to bridge the gap." Our major problem is whether funds will be forthcoming to continue our service when the present Ford grant expires in July, 1959.

Research and teaching both require bibliographies. Our new *Guide to Historical Literature,* so intelligently conceived by Dr. George Howe and his committee and so constantly pushed by the central editor, William C. Davis, ought to be published in the fall of 1959. Our "Guide to Photocopied Materials of Interest to Historians" is also likely to be published in 1959, if the strenuous work of its editor, Dr. Richard Hale, Jr., and the constant interest of our Committee on Documentary Reproduction, headed by Professor Robert B. Eckles, meet no serious obstacles. In the joint British-American project for British Bibliographies, Professor Conyers Read's revision of his Tudor volume is in press, Professor Edgar Graves is well along with the medieval volume to take the place of the well-known Gross, and Dean Mary Frear Keeler is deeply involved in the new volume on the Stuart period. In the near future work may begin in the Library of Congress on a monumental Register of Manuscripts in the United States. We in the Association have long urged that such a register be started, and the Executive Secretary participated in recent planning conferences for it.

Behind bibliographies are documents and manuscripts, in these days either original or photographically reproduced. I can state, on the basis of the report from the committee which Professor Oron Hale now heads, that all the worthwhile German Foreign Office documents that were in England have been photographed, and that in the United States we continue to microfilm in large numbers the German war records at the Alexandria Record Center. The rate of screening, describing, and filming has been approximately a thousand feet a year, or a million frames. For many of the photographed German records the

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National Archives has issued mimeographed indexes, and it will issue others. Covering the German documents in England, a catalogue, prepared under our auspices with the guidance of Professor Howard Ehrmann, will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press. For one other cooperative filming project —that of the Library of Congress and the Association for photographing selected foreign documents, catalogues, and indexes—the Library has been unable to obtain new funds. It may be that Section N of Public Law 480, enacted in September, 1958, will make federal funds available to the Library of Congress for the acquisition of books, documents, and photocopied materials of interest to scholars, but the policies of the federal government under this law have not yet been firmly established.

Our other activities, our more usual activities, continue without diminution. This year we will announce the winners of the Beveridge Award (Professor Frederick Tolles, Committee chairman), the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize (Professor Harold Grimm, Committee chairman), the John H. Dunning Prize (Professor Earl Pomeroy, Committee chairman), and the Watumull Prize (Professor Robert Crane, Committee chairman). In order to relieve the burdens of the prize committees we will also need to revise further the criteria for the prizes. For the Adams Prize, by way of illustration, we should ask the Committee to define quite precisely the types of books that may be submitted. We should, in addition, consider for the Beveridge Award an occasional decrease from fifteen hundred to a thousand in the size of our printings. Few scholarly books sell in larger numbers.

Some of our usual activities, as should be expected, involve cooperation with historians throughout the world. This year the activity in the international field was not only happy but unusual. The Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences met for the first time in the United States. With funds from the Ford Foundation, the Association sponsored the Bureau's visit, October 5–17. The American members of the Bureau, Professor Donald C. McKay and Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland (serving his last year as chairman of our International Historical Activities Committee), together with the Executive Secretary, accompanied the Bureau members as they met and as they visited from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Washington, D. C. Traveling by bus, the party stopped and was entertained at Harvard, Yale, Amherst, Mt. Holyoke, Columbia, Smith, Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Catholic University of America, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Folger Library, and the Association headquarters. Individual members of the Bureau also lectured in the Middle West and the South. Under the leadership of Sir Charles Webster, the Bureau not only accomplished its major task, the preparations for the 1960 Stockholm meeting, but saw something of the haunts and habitats of American scholars. The warm letters we have since received from the various members of the Bureau should make us believe that international cooperation, of this kind

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at least, can be effective, and should give a glow of satisfaction to Waldo Leland and Donald McKay, who shouldered much of the burden.

Another profitable and pleasant international historical meeting occurred in Austin, Texas, November 3–6, when the University of Texas, with other sponsoring groups including the Association, was host to the Second Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico. With other historians from Australia, Brazil, Canada, England, France, and various parts of the United States, some thirty Mexican historians took part in six scholarly sessions devoted to Mexican and United States history and to the theme of President Walter Prescott Webb's book *The Great Frontier*.

As you may annually expect, I shall now turn to concrete questions that more narrowly concern our own *Review* and Association. The *Review* is now in its sixty-third volume. Last year its 1,182 pages included twelve articles and six "Notes and Suggestions," 251 long reviews and 363 book notices, 130 pages listing significant historical articles in all fields of history, 107 covering historical news, and a forty-five-page index. To edit and publish the *Review* is an arduous task. Only its editors know how arduous it is, while only its readers know how well, or the opposite, the task is performed. We would like to publish longer reviews of some books than we do. From the 168 articles submitted last year, we would have liked to have accepted more than we did. But we have a space problem. We cannot, at this time, enlarge the *Review;* we can only allocate our space differently. Because we have been able to save a bit of space through double colums for the lists of articles and books received, we have been able to give more space to a few reviews. We are constantly trying to improve the quality of the articles and the reviews and to enliven without cheapening the style of writing. Dr. Mary R. Dearing (Ph.D., American history, University of Wisconsin, 1938) has just become Assistant Editor of the *Review* as well as Assistant Executive Secretary of the Association. Authors, reviewers, and many of our members will be meeting her and corresponding with her.

One new publication, the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations,* prepared by Dr. Dearing, is just off the press. This *List,* in preventing duplication of effort and in surveying historical work in progress, performs a useful service. Perhaps we should issue it annually instead of triennially. In our office we maintain the Job Register, which registers applicants for positions and sends out vita forms to prospective employers. From December 27, 1957, to December 1, 1958, we received inquiries from some seventy institutions seeking to fill about ninety positions. At the end of November of this year the Job Register contained the vita forms of over four hundred historians. How many obtained positions through our service, we have, except in rare cases, no way of knowing. We do know that some did and that historians and institutions use the service. As big enrollments hit the colleges and universities, it may be that the demand will far exceed the supply and that the colleges, universities, and governmental agencies will experience difficulties

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in filling vacancies and new positions. During the coming year we may need to reexamine our procedures and to initiate some changes in our methods of handling the Job Register.

We have had, our Treasurer tells us, a good year financially. I do not soon expect as good a year. Costs, all costs, are mounting rapidly. Owing to the increase in postal rates, our postage charges alone will probably total two thousand dollars more than last year. Salaries are going up because of inflation, and to obtain and to keep good people we shall need to pay good salaries. Again, we cannot always expect to be as effective as we have been in starting special projects, such as that in graduate education, and in obtaining funds to finance them. When costs mount during the coming year, we must try to understand why. I may be wrong, and I am unhappy about it, but perhaps we shall have to consider an increase in dues. The Association's membership dues are among the lowest of comparable groups. The American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the Modern Language Association have all gone to ten dollars a year and are considering going higher. In an affluent society, we cannot accomplish our aims unless we, too, are touched by affluence.

The question remains: What can we do to make the desires of historians known and their needs felt? Whatever we do, we will not barter away, even for large sums and subsidies, our freedom to think, to do research, and to write as our professional standards demand. We will not seek or accept money to promote any cause except that of historical scholarship. Whether or not we live in an affluent society, whether or not we ourselves become affluent, we will strive only for a full and faithful representation of the past and an intellegent understanding of it.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 27, 1958, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Walter Prescott Webb, President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Crane Brinton, Mildred L. Campbell, James B. Hedges, W. Stull Holt, Robert R. Palmer, Stanley Pargellis, Councilors; Louis Gottschalk, Dexter Perkins, and William L. Langer, former Presidents.

The Executive Secretary of the Association opened the meeting and presided until President Webb, delayed en route, arrived a few minutes after 10:00 a.m.

The Council approved the minutes of the 1958 meeting as published in the April, 1958, issue of *The American Historical Review* (841–47).

Since the report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* had been sent to the Council, it was not read. The Executive Secretary

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reported in addition that the total membership has increased from 7,024 to 7,642; that the student membership, which the Association has partly subsidized, now totals over eight hundred; that the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* had just come off the press and was available at the nominal cost of $1.50; and that the Library of Congress had announced the establishment of the National Register of Manuscripts, a major scholarly enterprise for which the Association has long worked.

The Treasurer of the Association, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, analyzed his report for 1957–1958. He noted that because of a singular combination of favorable circumstances, income had exceeded expenditures for 1957–1958, but that owing to increasing costs, in postage, for example, the financial situation would probably not be as favorable during the next two years. Dean Kayser also stressed the fact that over half of the Association's present funds are restricted as to their use, since they are allocated to specific and not general purposes.

The Executive Secretary and the Treasurer reported on the budgets for 1958–1959 and 1959–1960. They pointed out that while income exceeded expenditures in 1957–1958, a deficit would be possible in 1959–1960. The Council approved minor expenditures exceeding budgeted items for 1957–1958, these having been previously approved by the Finance Committee. It also approved an increase in the annuity for the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, the establishment of a sinking fund for the Association's property at 400 A Street, S.E., increases in the salaries of headquarters staff members; a new provision for the travel expenses of members of the Council and the Board of Editors at their annual meetings; and, finally, the budget for 1958–1959 and the tentative budget for 1959–1960. Separately, the Council approved the establishment of a life insurance plan for staff members and asked the Finance Committee to prepare a pension plan.

The Council reelected the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor for the constitutional term of three years.

The Council approved a policy of sabbatical leave for the professional members of the staff.

Professor Robert A. Wilson of the University of California, Los Angeles, reported to the Council for the Pacific Coast Branch. He stated that the Branch was in good financial condition and estimated an attendance of four hundred at its meeting at Whittier College December 28–30. He added that the Pacific Coast Branch would meet in Salt Lake City in September, 1959, but would return to the regular December dates in 1960. The Council accepted the report.

The Executive Secretary, for the Committee on Committees, submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1959 as approved are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William Hogan, Tulane University; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; Gordon

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Wright,* Stanford University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; C. Easton Rothwell, Hoover Library; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Committee on the Guide to Historical Literature.—George F. Howe, Washington, D. C., chairman; Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Kraus, City College of New York; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Walter Johnson,* University of Chicago.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Edward Younger, University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Cornell University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex-officio).

Committee on Honorary Members.—Paul Clyde, Duke University, chairman; Lynn M. Case,* University of Pennsylvania; Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University; Oscar Halecki, Fordham University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Washington; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on International Historical Activities.— Arthur P. Whitaker University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Gifford Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Chester Easum, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Ford,* Harvard University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Job Register.—Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California, Berkeley; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius

* New member this year.

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Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Joseph Smith, New York City.

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Walter L. Dorn, Columbia University; Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan; Fritz Epstein, Library of Congress; Hans Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University; Reginald Phelps, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Nat B. Burbank, Boulder, Colorado; William Cartwright, Duke University; Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; Francis Keppel, Harvard University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio); Edith Starratt, Schenectady, New York.

Committee on Teaching Needs (Graduate Education).—Dexter Perkins, Cornell University, chairman; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University; Fred Harrington, University of Wisconsin; Edward Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Leonard Krieger, Yale University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University, chairman; John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University; Richard Brace,* Northwestern University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Carl E. Schorske, Wesleyan University, chairman; Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University; Henry Cord Meyer,* Pomona College.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, chairman; Douglass Adair,* Claremont Graduate School; Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Charles Gibson,* University of Iowa; Glyndon Van Deusen, University of Rochester.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, chairman; William Hogan, Tulane University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California, Berkeley.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning,

* New member this year.

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Haverford, Pennsylvania, chairman; Giovanni Costigan, University of Washington; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University; Charles Mowat, University College of North Wales.

Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; John Higham, Rutgers University; Stow Persons, State University of Iowa; Frederick Rudolph, Williams College.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan, chairman; Donald Grove Barnes, Western Reserve University; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

In response to requests from two chairmen of prize committees, the Council asked the respective prize committees to consider the criteria for the various prizes and to redefine the kinds of books and manuscripts that will be eligible for consideration. Because it has proved impossible to determine the full publication costs of Beveridge Award books over the years and because the limited sale of the Beveridge books in nearly all cases did not bring returns covering the cost of publication, the Council decided to eliminate the clause providing for 5 per cent royalty after publication in future Beveridge awards. After considerable discussion the Council decided to divert the income from the Association's Revolving Fund for Publication to the John H. Dunning Prize for five years, and to keep the capital of the Revolving Fund at its present level for this period. The Executive Secretary reported to the Council that a recent study made by the American Council of Learned Societies reveals a great need for publication funds only in special cases, such as for works too long for an article and too short for a book.

On the nomination of the Committee on Honorary Members, the Council elected to honorary membership Sir Lewis Namier, England; Professor Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Turkey; and Dr. Silvio Zavala, Mexico.

The Council accepted a new definition of purpose for the Committee on Documentary Reproduction. It is as follows:

> The purpose of this Committee is to reproduce or stimulate the reproduction of historical and archival materials of importance to scholars in microfilm, microprint, and other forms of photocopy and photoduplication. The Committee, in initiating, planning, and coordinating projects, shall cooperate with scholars and scholarly institutions in making these materials, as well as guides to them, available.

The Executive Secretary pointed out that the Library of Congress, under Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, may now have means to acquire scholarly materials from agricultural counterpart funds available in those countries to which the United States has shipped agricultural products. Acquisition policies, however, have not yet been firmly established and scholarly materials in countries to which the United States has not shipped agricultural products will not be obtainable under the provisions of this law.

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The Council confirmed the appointment of Professor Leo Gershoy, New York University, to the Board of Editors of the *Review*.

The Council approved the nomination to the Business Meeting of the Association of Mr. W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., Vice-President of the United States Trust Company of New York City, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Association.

For the Association's delegate to the Social Science Research Council, the Council reelected Professor C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University. For the delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council elected Professor Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, to replace Professor Joseph Strayer, Princeton University, who had resigned because of other commitments.

For future meetings of the Association, the Council confirmed the reservations for the Conrad Hilton in Chicago for 1959 and the Statler in New York City for 1960. It asked the Executive Secretary and the Treasurer to determine the place of the next meeting in Washington in 1961. Because Association meetings are customarily arranged three years in advance, the Council took no action at this time on an invitation from the Pacific Coast Branch to meet on the Pacific Coast in 1962. The Council approved the appointment of Professor Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University as Program Chairman for 1959, and of Professor Paul Barton Johnson, Roosevelt University, as Local Arrangements Chairman for 1959.

The Executive Secretary reported on the activities and accomplishments of various Association projects now in operation. He stated that plans had been made to continue the Service Center for Teachers of History for another five years, and that with the approval of the Executive Committee a request for the necessary funds had gone to a foundation. The Council warmly and enthusiastically endorsed the work of the Service Center. After hearing of the work of the German War Documents Committee, the Council approved in principle a request for additional funds to continue reproduction of German war documents in Alexandria. The Executive Secretary spoke of the probable publication in 1959 of *The Guide to Historical Literature* and "The Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada." The Chairman of the Committee for the Study of Graduate Education in History, Dexter Perkins, reported that questionnaires had been mailed to graduate and undergraduate departments and that visits to colleges and universities would soon begin. Dr. Stanley Pargellis announced that, of the new British bibliographies, the new Tudor volume by Conyers Read will shortly be published; that the revision of the medieval volume by Edgar Graves was more than half finished, as was the Stuart volume by Dean Mary Frear Keeler; and that new editors, I. R. Christie and A. J. Taylor, had been appointed for the 1769–1852 volume.

The Executive Secretary described the visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences to the United States. He also stated that under

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the sponsorship of the Association four professors from abroad will be at American universities, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Michigan, in 1958–1959 and 1959–1960 to teach South Asian history.

The Executive Secretary described the operation of the Association's Job Register. Approximately four hundred persons were registered as of December 1, 1958, and during the year the Register has been informed of ninety positions in about seventy institutions. He pointed out that there was no way to determine how many persons had found positions through the Job Register, though he was certain some had. He spoke of the large amount of time devoted by the staff to the Register and asked the Council to advise him on the continuation of the Register or changes in Register procedures. The Council expressed strong interest in the Register, asked that it be continued, and that the Association make the service more widely known. The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to make any changes in procedure that he believed advisable.

The Council extensively examined a proposal for a committee on needs and opportunities in research. While several Council members believed that the study would require much time and effort, the Council approved the appointment of a committee of five scholars, preferably young historians, to examine the proposal and to report.

A proposal from history department chairmen of the "Big Ten" institutions for the establishment of an increased number of scholarships in history was reported by Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago. Professor Gottschalk supported the proposal, declaring that fewer and smaller fellowships were available in history than in several other disciplines of equal or lesser importance, and that more fellowships must be provided if the profession was to obtain a sufficient number of able young men. The Council expressed interest in the proposal, although precise information and funds are not at present available. It asked that the proposal be referred to the Committee on Graduate Education and be given further consideration after the Committee completed its factual study, already under way.

A second proposal of the "Big Ten" chairmen, on foreign language teaching, was received with sympathetic attention. The Executive Secretary was asked to write a letter to the Commissioner of Education, Lawrence Derthick, in support of intensified school instruction at the secondary levels in the foreign languages.

A proposal of the Archivist of the United States for a "Jameson Travel Fund" to be used by scholars doing research in archival and manuscript depositories in the United States was tabled. The Council desired to honor the distinguished editor and historian J. Franklin Jameson on the hundredth anniversary of his birth (1959), but favored other means. The Council believed it would be difficult to obtain sufficient funds for and to administer small travel grants.

The Executive Secretary read a proposal of Professor James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska for a "planning and supervisory council for history in

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our schools." On the ground that the Association was at present helping the schools through its Service Center, and that the establishment of a supervisory council seemed neither desirable nor feasible, the council took no action.

A request of the Department of State for a historical advisory committee for the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History was approved. The Executive Secretary was asked to establish a committee of five.

The Council again considered a proposal for a televised course in American history. The Committee on Teaching had opposed the creation under Association auspices of such a course and had recommended special lectures on specific subjects by specialists. The Council agreed that a basic course in American history would not be advisable and also agreed with the Committee that it would be desirable to establish lectures by specialists. The Executive Secretary was asked to determine the opinion of the Fund for the Advancement of Education on this proposal.

The Council agreed with the proposal of the American Political Science Association for a conference on matters of joint concern to the social sciences. The Executive Secretary was asked to so inform the American Political Science Association.

For the Executive Committee, the following members were elected for 1959: Professor Robert R. Palmer, chairman; Professor Mildred L. Campbell; Professor James B. Hedges; Dean Elmer Louis Kayser; Professor William L. Langer; and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer. The Finance Committee for 1959 will consist of Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, Professor Robert R. Palmer, and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer.

On a last minute proposal for Association support of a National Science Foundation project concerning indexing, abstracting, and translating, the Council took no action.

For the preparation of a resolution at the Business Meeting, the Council appointed Professor Mildred L. Campbell.

The meeting adjourned at about 5:30 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 29, 1958, 4:30 P.M.

President Walter Prescott Webb called the meeting to order with about 150 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1958, pp. 848–50) were approved.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, gave his annual report (see pp. 802–809). Dean Elmer Louis Kayser pre-

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sented the Treasurer's report for 1957–1958. He pointed out that for general purposes Association assets on August 31, 1958, totaled $493,797.10, and that for specific and for restricted purposes $529,102.62 was available. The increase of $153,159.46, he stated, was primarily owing to grants from foundations for special projects. The Treasurer declared that because of favorable circumstances, the financial year 1957–1958 was unusual and that increased costs and decreased income over the next two years might be expected. He invited members to inspect his mimeographed report, which had been distributed, and he added that the financial accounts had been audited and were on file at Association headquarters for inspection by interested members. The Treasurer's report was accepted unanimously.

Upon Council nomination Mr. W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., Vice-President of the United States Trust Company of New York City, was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Association.

Professor Kenneth M. Setton, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1958, presented the nominations for the offices of the Association in 1959: for President, Professor Allan Nevins, the Henry E. Huntington Library; for Vice-President, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; for Treasurer, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Following this Professor Setton announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and Nominating Committee, Professor John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College and Professor Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University had been elected to the Council; and that Professor Arthur S. Link of Northwestern University, Professor H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University, and Professor Catherine E. Boyd of Carleton College were elected to the Nominating Committee. The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted. The chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1959 will be Professor Paul W. Gates of Cornell University.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see Minutes, pp. 809–16). The new Council appointments to various Association committees and its selection of delegates to various scholarly groups were announced. The Executive Secretary particularly praised Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland, retiring chairman of the International Historical Activities Committee, for his many years of service to the Association and to its international historical activities. The Executive Secretary stated that, with the enthusiastic support of the Council, the Association would attempt to continue the Service Center for Teachers of History as well as to reproduce the German war documents. He announced the election of new honorary members of the Association: Sir Lewis Namier of England, Professor Mehmet Fuad Köprülü of Turkey, and Dr. Silvio Zavala of Mexico; the establishment of a national register of manuscripts in the Library of Congress; the publication of the 1958 *List of Doctoral*

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Dissertations; and the probable publication during 1959 of *The Guide to Historical Literature* and "The Guide to Photocopied Historical Material in the United States and Canada." For the Committee on Graduate Education, Professor Dexter Perkins, Cornell University, discussed the work in progress and asked for cooperation in the Committee's study of practices and policies at various colleges and universities throughout the United States.

The Executive Secretary announced the time and places of meeting for the next three years (see page 814), and said that for the 1959 meeting the Program Chairman would be Professor Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, and the Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor Paul Barton Johnson, Roosevelt University.

As Managing Editor of the *Review,* Dr. Shafer stated that the new member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* will be Professor Leo Gershoy, New York University, replacing Professor Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago, whose term had expired.

The members of the Executive Committee for 1959, Dr. Shafer indicated, would be Professor Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, chairman; Professor Mildred L. Campbell, Vassar College; Professor James B. Hedges, Brown University; Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Professor William L. Langer, Harvard University; and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association.

Professor Robert A. Wilson, University of California, Los Angeles, presented a summary of the activities of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association in 1957–1958. The Branch, he reported, is not only in good financial condition but its membership continues to grow and its scholarly sessions at its annual meetings have been attracting more and more interest. The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was accepted.

Professor John Snell of Tulane University presented the following resolution for the Conference Group for Central European History, asking that it be made a matter of record:

> The Conference Group for Central European History, at its meeting on December 28, authorized the following resolution, and asked that it be read at this business meeting:
>
> The Conference has special reasons to appreciate the work of the American Historical Association Committee for the Study of War Documents. By making available to the historical profession an immense amount of microfilmed German records, the Committee is providing unprecedented research opportunities in modern European history. The Conference Group wishes to assure the American Historical Association of its continued interest in, and support of this work, and expresses the hope that it will be possible for the Committee to complete the microfilming.

As the meeting turned to "Other Business," Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland rose to speak of the great services of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson to the profession and

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to ask that the Association in 1959 properly commemorate the centenary of Dr. Jameson's birth. The Council had earlier and likewise expressed a desire to honor Dr. Jameson.

Dr. David C. Moore of Harpur College pointed out the possibilities of economical air travel to Europe for scholars and asked that interested members of the Association get in touch with him.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Mildred L. Campbell presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association extend its sincere thanks and deep appreciation to Professor Cyril E. Black and the members of his committee for the varied and excellent program that we have enjoyed; and to Professor Richard C. Haskett and those who have worked with him for the magnificent way in which they have taken care of us. Despite our large numbers, we have been made to feel the warmth of the welcome and the genuineness of the hospitality accorded us.

This resolution was accepted with applause.

No other business being presented, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, following his custom of many years, moved adjournment. The meeting was adjourned at approximately 5:45 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will meet in 1959 at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28–30. The Program Chairman is Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University and the Local Arrangements Chairman Professor Paul Barton Johnson of Roosevelt University.

Paul W. Gates of Cornell University is Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1959. He will welcome suggestions from members of the Association for the office of Vice-President, membership on the Council, and the Nominating Committee for 1960.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* for 1955–1958 is available for $1.50 at the Association headquarters. The Association keeps a running file of doctoral dissertations during the periods between publications of the *List.* Candidates or their advisers should register doctoral dissertations as soon as they are chosen.

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History, made possible by the generosity of the Cornell University Press and by action of the Council of the American Historical Association, is to be offered in 1959 for the best complete original manuscript submitted in English on American intellectual history.

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"American intellectual history" is to be understood broadly; it may include histories of movements of thought and of recognized institutions or agencies of intellectual life, and biographies or studies of intellectual leaders in America. The only restriction as to period and place is that the history must concern the area of the present United States during the years since 1607.

Manuscripts must be scholarly and well written. They must be the author's first or second book. A doctoral dissertation, to be eligible, even though it be revised from its original form, must be accompanied by a statement from the professorial adviser (or, in special cases, from another senior expert in the field) certifying that in his judgment it is now ready for publication, subject to the usual procedures in the offices of the publisher. Two copies of the manuscript must be submitted, one of them the ribbon copy, and must be received no later than June 1, 1959. While every care will be taken in the handling of the material, the Committee cannot accept responsibility in case of loss or damage.

The prize consists of $1,500 in cash and publication by the Cornell University Press. One half of the cash award will be paid on announcement of the award at the 1959 meeting of the American Historical Association, and the remainder on the publication of the manuscript.

The 1959 Committee members are: Charles A. Barker of Johns Hopkins University, chairman, John Higham of Rutgers University, Stow Persons of the State Univeristy of Iowa, and Frederick Rudolph of Williams College. All manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

The fifty-first meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at Whittier College, December 28–30, 1958. Registration for the eighteen sessions totaled 287. At the annual dinner President John W. Caughey traced the literary patterns of California history in his address "California in the Third Dimension." The officers of the Branch for 1959 are: President, Raymond Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; Vice-President, Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Secretary-Treasurer, John A. Schutz, Whittier College; Editor, *Pacific Historical Review,* John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles; Council members: James G. Allen, University of Colorado; Russell Ewing, University of Arizona; William S. Greever, University of Idaho; Wilbur Jacobs, University of California, Santa Barbara; Solomon Katz, University of Washington; Arthur Kooker, University of Southern California; T. A. Larsen, University of Wyoming; John B. McGloin, S.J., University of San Francisco; Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State College; and C. Bickford O'Brien, University of California, Davis. The Program Chairman for 1959 is C. Bickford O'Brien.

The annual Pacific Coast Branch Award was given to Joseph R. Levenson for his book *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate.* Rodman Wilson Paul

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received the Lewis Knott Koontz Memorial Award, given annually for the most deserving contribution to the *Pacific Historical Review,* for his article "The Great California Grain War."

Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received the papers of Marquis James (1891–1955) as a gift from Mrs. James. Numbering approximately sixteen thousand pieces, the group contains the notes, drafts, and final manuscripts of many of James's major works, two of them winners of the Pulitzer Prize for biography, as well as an extensive correspondence file. The latter contains letters from many of the outstanding literary figures of the time, and also from such national figures as Cordell Hull and Harold L. Ickes.

Some fifteen thousand papers of Irving Langmuir (1881–1957), distinguished chemist and Nobel Prize winner, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Langmuir. A large part of the collection consists of notes, articles, and other materials concerned with scientific research. There are also numerous personal letters, among them a group that Dr. Langmuir wrote to his mother while he was attending the University of Göttingen. These give a detailed picture of the life that the local American "colony" led there at the turn of the century.

Significant additions have been made to three important bodies of personal papers in the Library. To the Kermit Roosevelt papers there has been added, by gift of Mrs. Roosevelt, a series of holograph letters from their close friend, Edwin Arlington Robinson; notes concerned with his long-time "battle of the slums" are among papers of journalist and philanthropist Jacob A. Riis, received from four of his grandchildren; and more than two thousand pieces of correspondence, memoranda, and reports, mainly concerned with his service as statistician with the army in World Wars I and II, have been added to the Leonard P. Ayres papers by the Honorable W. Randolph Burgess.

A new division, the World War II Records Division, has been established in the National Archives to manage the records of permanent value that were transferred with the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office last summer. Sherrod E. East, former head of that branch, is head of the new Division, Philip P. Brower of its Archival Operations Branch, Wilbur J. Nigh of its Reference Branch, and Lewis M. Robeson of its Security and Services Branch.

Among the records recently acquired by the National Archives are two volumes of minutes, 1871–1874, of the board appointed by President Grant that came to be known as the Grant Civil Service Commission; correspondence of the present Civil Service Commission, 1884–1906, some of it with the President; records of the National Park Service that complete the central files of that agency

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through 1949; and records of the United States Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration, 1921–1948, documenting the organization and operations of those agencies at high policy levels during World War II as well as earlier operations of the Maritime Commission and its predecessors.

Several important additions have been made to the National Archives Microfilm Publication series. Especially notable are the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881. These letters were written from five superintendencies—California (twenty-one rolls), Dakota (twenty-four rolls), Minnesota (one roll), Oregon (twelve rolls), and Washington (fourteen rolls)—and from twenty-one agencies (101 rolls). Other new microfilm publications are the Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers below the Rank of Commander, 1802–1854 (226 rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the State of Georgia (five rolls) and for the State of Ohio (ten rolls); Records Relating to Confederate Naval and Marine Personnel (seven rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1820–1860 (forty-nine rolls) and Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820–1846 (103 rolls).

Two more guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, have appeared under the National Archives imprint: no. 5, *Miscellaneous German Records Collection* (Part I) and no. 6, *Records of Nazi Cultural and Research Institutions and Records Pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East.* These guides were prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents.

In the series of preliminary inventories published by the National Archives the following have recently appeared: no. 110, *Records of the Public Buildings Service* and no. 111, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Foreign Aid,* 1947–1948. A revised edition of Special List no. 9, *List of Foreign Service Post Records in the National Archives,* has also appeared.

The Roosevelt Library has published on microfilm the stenographic transcripts of Franklin D. Roosevelt's press conferences, which comprise a total of about thirteen thousand typewritten pages. There is one roll of film for each year, 1933–1945, and each roll has been indexed. Less than 10 per cent of the text of these press conferences had previously been published.

The Library of Congress will establish an inventory of important manuscript collections throughout the nation with the grant of $200,000 it has just received from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., of Washington, D. C. The inventory will be known as the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. It is expected to be of invaluable aid to scholars seeking the "primary" source materials they need for research—in history, literature, economics, science, etc. It will enable them to determine which United States collections have manuscript material written by or to particular persons and organizations or dealing with particular historical periods, places, topics, or events. The project's immediate

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goal is to prepare uniform descriptions of some 24,000 collections known to exist in about seventy-five cooperating libraries and archives, as well as of three thousand collections (representing millions of individual manuscripts) in the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress will then print and sell catalogue cards describing each collection, so that any library in the country may maintain a similar record.

In 1948 the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History, on the recommendation of the American Historical Association, established a Joint Committee on Historical Manuscripts to plan for a register of manuscripts. Its subsequent report called for the description of manuscripts by group rather than by individual pieces, and it recommended a national register rather than several regional ones. In 1951 the Library of Congress proposed that it be the home of such a register, or union catalogue, and the Joint Committee endorsed this idea. The plan agreed upon contemplated a catalogue that would aim at recording collections rather than individual papers and it required the prior development of standard rules—which would be generally acceptable—for cataloguing manuscript materials of varying forms, ages, languages, etc.

To this end the Library of Congress undertook to develop a code of cataloguing rules. It now provides a basis for assembling the data in consistent form. With the assistance of an advisory committee representing several interested groups and with the grant from the Council on Library Resources, the Library of Congress will now request data on standard forms or data sheets from institutions holding manuscript collections. On the basis of these reports, the Library will prepare catalogue entries and publish catalogue cards for them. Each entry will contain the description and location of a collection and will list the persons, organizations, places, and subjects primarily represented in it.

The new National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections has the endorsement of the American Historical Association, the American Association for State and Local History, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the Society of American Archivists.

A previously unknown collection of Simon Cameron papers has recently been microfilmed in ten reels by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission at Harrisburg. The collection numbers approximately 4,100 pieces extending from 1836 to 1892, with nearly 3,800 pieces for the years 1853–1865. It consists primarily of correspondence and papers on political and business affairs.

The Library of Ohio Wesleyan University is collecting material pertaining to the Spanish Civil War. Anyone interested in promoting the collection, whether by gifts of manuscripts, documents, books, or periodicals, or by cash donation to permit purchase of materials, should write to Dr. John Herrold Lancaster, Head Librarian, Slocum Library, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

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Meetings

At its business meeting held on December 28, 1958, at the Mayflower Hotel, in Washington, D. C., the American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano voted to change its official designation to the Society for Italian Historical Studies. At the same time the members unanimously expressed their desire to continue the present cordial official relations between them and the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano of Rome, Italy. Announcement was made of the winner of the essay contest sponsored by the American Division for the best unpublished study on the history of modern Italy. The winner of the $200 prize was Dr. Raymond Grew of Princeton University for his essay on "A Sterner Plan: The History of the Italian National Society." Two contestants received honorable mention: Richard A. Webster of Columbia University for his "The Formation of the Democratic Cadres in Italy, 1929–1945," and Paul W. Schroeder of Concordia Senior College for "Metternich and the Restored Governments at Naples and Piedmont, 1821–1822."

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a three-year grant of $37,500 to the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, Washington, D. C., to assist in the preparation of a definitive history of the Supreme Court. The grant will free a number of the authors from teaching and other academic commitments during certain periods so that they may give undivided time to work on the history.

According to *Higher Education,* November, 1958, published by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, universities and colleges awarded 24,277 graduate fellowships with a value of about $17,800,000 in 1955–1956. Of these, 666 were in history. Among the fifty major fields of study, history ranked ninth in the number of fellowships, while the mean grant in history totaled $809 as compared to the general mean of $737.

An announcement of January 30, 1959, by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare concerning the first graduate fellowships under the National Defense Education Act reveals that the program will provide 160 fellowships in 1959–1960, of which eleven will be in history at Duke and Emory Universities and at the University of Kentucky. Additional fellowships may be awarded in 1959–1960. After 1959–1960 the Act authorizes fifteen hundred fellowships for each of the three subsequent years. Fellows receive $2,000 the first year, $2,200 the second, and $2,400 the third, plus $400 per year for each dependent. Reimbursement to each school is also authorized to a maximum of $2,500 per fellow.

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Henry and Ida Schuman of New York City have established an annual award of $250 for an original prize essay in the history of science and its cultural influences. This competition is open to undergraduate and graduate students in any American or Canadian college, university, or institute of technology. Papers submitted for the prize competition should be approximately five thousand words in length exclusive of footnotes, and thoroughly documented. They should be sent to A. Hunter Dupree, Chairman of the Prize Committee, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley 4, California. July 1, 1959, is the deadline for the papers.

The American Council of Learned Societies made 249 awards to individual scholars during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1958, according to its annual report. These awards were in connection with a number of ACLS programs, which have as their aim the encouragement of scholarly endeavor in the humanities and social sciences. They include special prizes of $10,000, given in recognition of distinguished scholarship; fellowships; grants-in-aid; travel grants for international congresses; and summer study aids in linguistics.

The Council has announced that two of its special awards in 1959 ($10,000) will go to Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago and Professor Stephan Kuttner of Catholic University of America. Fellowships under its October, 1958, competition went to Peter Jack Gay, Howard Roberts Lamar, Archibald Ross Lewis, William Gurnee Sinnigen, and Bernard Allen Weisberger.

Grants-in-aid of scientific research are available from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Work in any field that may properly be called scientific is eligible for this support, including mathematical, physical, biological, and social sciences. In general the several fund committees favor the support of individuals over that of organizations, although grants are permissible to public or private associations, societies, or institutions. Special consideration will be given to projects on new frontiers of science, those that lie between or include two or more of the classical fields, and those proposed by investigators who may be on the threshold of investigational careers or are handicapped by inadequate resources and facilities. Although grants-in-aid normally do not exceed $1,500, requests for substantially larger amounts for especially meritorious projects will be considered. Applications must be filed in duplicate on forms obtainable from the Academy office, not later than February 1 and September 1. Address communications to: Chairman, Committees on Research Funds, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline 46, Massachusetts.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies, formerly the American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, announces a prize of $200 for the best unpublished study or article of essay length on the history of Italy. Since the object of the award is to invite and encourage fresh interest in Italian

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history, the prize is offered for a first or second study in the field. Further information may be obtained from Professor Howard R. Marraro, Room 502, Casa Italiana, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

An annual $400 award has been established at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace on the basis of a grant from the Borden Company Foundation for the purpose of recognizing and encouraging distinguished and original work based essentially upon materials of the Institution. The first award was made October 31, 1958, to Dr. Oliver H. Radkey, professor of history at the University of Texas for his book *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism: Promise and Default of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, March to October, 1917.*

Publications

The Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States met November 7 and 8, 1958. A summary of its report follows: Since the initial meeting of the Committee in December, 1957, the members have been appointed as consultants to the Historical Division, thus assuring them an official status. The Committee expressed its confidence in the competence of Dr. G. Bernard Noble and his staff, and in their efforts to publish a faithful record of our government's diplomacy as soon as the papers can be made public. The committee noted that during its meetings numerous desk and area officers were in attendance. It also conferred with Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs; Andrew Berding, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs; and E. M. Kretzmann, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. The Committee devoted much attention to the question of the China volumes. The preparation of these volumes was requested of the Historical Division by the Senate Appropriations Committee. The relations between the United States and both Communist China and Nationalist China are in many ways delicate. The Department of State therefore deems it advisable, in our national interest, to delay further publications in the China series for the present. The Committee believed that a public statement to this effect was desirable. The Committee noted with pleasure the continuing efforts for the publication of the Conference volumes. It observed with satisfaction that early publication of the Potsdam volume seems assured, and it expressed hope that such obstacles as have arisen concerning clearance for the Cairo-Tehran volume will be speedily resolved. It again called attention to the publication by the Department's publication of a two-volume compilation entitled *American Foreign Policy 1950–1955: Basic Documents,* which was released in July and December, 1957. It heartedly approved of the plan to bring this project up to date and to issue annual volumes of selected and nonclassified materials. It believed that these volumes, under the careful editorship of Dr. Noble and his colleagues, will go far to provide useful material for the period since 1950.

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The first volume of *Annali,* published by the Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli di Studi Economici Politici e Sociali per la Storia del Socialismo, has just appeared.

The Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, announces that it is sponsoring a proposed edition of selected correspondence of Rear Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont for the year 1861–1865, to be prepared by Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, USN (Ret.). Though the bulk of Admiral du Pont's letters is included in the large collection of Du Pont family papers now at Longwood, Admiral Hayes and the director of the Longwood Library welcome communications from anyone knowing of materials that exist elsewhere, and particularly letters from Du Pont to his fellow officers.

The British Association for American Studies has begun to publish the results of its activities. It has announced that in 1959 Oxford University Press will publish a guide to manuscripts relating to America in Great Britain and Ireland.

Radcliffe College announces that it is sponsoring the preparation of a biographical dictionary of American women. To be titled *Notable American Women, 1607–1950,* it will contain sketches of approximately fifteen hundred women from the colonial period to the present and will comprise two or more volumes. The articles will be written by historians and other scholars and will, in general, be on the same scale as those in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* The editor is Dr. Edward T. James. A committee of consultants has been appointed under the chairmanship of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., but the editor solicits suggestions from the entire historical guild, particularly names of women who might be included and information about qualified contributors. He may be addressed at Radcliffe College, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Other Historical News

The Westerners Foundation has been established at the College of the Pacific by the Chicago Westerners. The book publishing program will include source materials in the frontier period of the American West, as well as out-of-print items and current historical studies. The Foundation is collecting books and all categories of historical materials, building on the western Americana collection of the College of the Pacific. Inquiries should be directed to Glenn W. Price, Director, College of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

A study of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported in *Higher Education,* January, 1959, reveals that average faculty salaries in 1958–1959 increased about 11 per cent over 1957–1958 in private institutions and about 4½ per cent in public institutions. In four-year colleges and universities the mean salaries varied according to the type of institution: for professors from $7,030 (private liberal arts colleges) to $10,160 (private universities); for associate professors from $5,880 (private liberal arts colleges) to $7,290 (private universities);

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for assistant professors from $5,080 (private liberal arts colleges) to $6,280 (public liberal arts colleges); and for instructors from $4,410 (private liberal arts colleges) to $5,120 (public liberal arts colleges).

A special "crash" research program is being conducted by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior on all phases of the physical history of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, from 1795 to 1861. The purpose of this research is to make possible the accurate restoration of the old-town section of Harpers Ferry National Monument as of the 1859–1865 period. As a part of this project much primary source material relating to all phases of the town's history from 1795 to 1865 has been collected on microfilm, indexed, and is available for the use of scholars and researchers at the Monument.

The Peruvian government has presented the United States with a placque to commemorate the centenary of the death of William Hickling Prescott. It has been placed in the historian's home in Boston.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

American School of Classical Studies (Athens, Greece): Peter Topping appointed professor. *Boston College:* John R. Willis, S.J., of Bates College appointed assistant professor. *University of Buffalo:* Bradley Chapin appointed assistant vice-chancellor in charge of educational affairs and assistant professor. *University of Chicago:* C. L. Mowat has accepted a position at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. His successor as editor of the *Journal of Modern History* will be S. William Halperin. *Teachers College of Connecticut* (New Britain): William L. Winter promoted to associate professor. *University of Hawaii:* Arthur J. Marder promoted to senior professor, Donald D. Johnson to professor, and Welden A. Ernest to assistant professor; Thomas D. Murphy on Fulbright leave in Australia. *Lafayette College:* Edwin B. Coddington named national president of Phi Alpha Theta, honorary history society. *University of Maryland:* Wesley M. Gewehr named professor emeritus; Wilhelmina Jashemski, David S. Sparks, and Roland N. Stromberg promoted to associate professors; Leonard M. Pitt appointed to the staff. *University of Massachusetts:* John J. Beer appointed assistant professor, James Henderson instructor. *Mills College:* C. Easton Rothwell of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, named president.

National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division: David C. Eberhard appointed to succeed Bernard R. Kennedy, who has retired. *National*

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

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Historical Publications Commission: Robert E. Cushman, retired from Cornell University, appointed editor of the Commission's projected documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; Leonard A. Rapport of the National Archives appointed editor. *New York University:* Thomas P. Robinson, director of admissions, named dean of the University College of Arts and Science. *City College, New York:* Edward Rosen promoted to professor, Aaron S. Noland and Reginald E. Raab to associate professors. *Ohio Wesleyan University:* Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., promoted to assistant professor. *Pennsylvania State University:* Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky named Distinguished Visiting Professor of History for the spring semester, 1959. *Pennsylvania State Teachers College* (Clarion): Charles W. Robbe named head of the department of social science. *Roosevelt University:* Paul Barton Johnson named acting chairman of the department; Walter Arnstein appointed assistant professor, David H. Corkran visiting assistant professor.

San Fernando Valley State College (Northridge, California): Marin Pundeff of the Library of Congress appointed assistant professor. *Texas Southern University* (Houston): J. Reuben Sheeler, head of the department of history and geography, appointed as an American specialist in cultural affairs by the United States Department of State. *Valparaiso University:* Arthur P. Kautz appointed associate professor, Conrad J. Engelder instructor. *University of Wisconsin:* Alfred L. Rowse of All Souls College, Oxford University, George M. Trevelyan of Cambridge University, Werner Philipp of the Free University of Berlin, Bankey Bihari Misra of the University of London, and Oscar J. Hammen of Montana State University appointed for the spring semester, 1959. Chester V. Easum and Theodore S. Hamerow on leaves of absence for the second semester, 1959.

Erratum: Harold Hulme has been promoted to professor at New York University, not associate professor, as noted in the January, 1959, *Review.*

Recent Deaths

Robert P. Esty of Philadelphia, a life member of the Association, died February 22, 1958.

William Walker Rockwell of New York City, a life member of the Association since 1904, died May 30, 1958.

Umphrey Lee, chancellor of Southern Methodist University, died in Dallas, Texas, June 23, 1958.

Rafal Taubenschlag died in Warsaw, Poland, June 25, 1958, at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Taubenschlag, professor of Roman law at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow until 1939, was lecturing at the university in Aix-en-Provence at the time of the German invasion. He escaped to the United States, where he became professor at the New School for Social Research in New York

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City and later research professor at Columbia University. Here he wrote *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of Papyri 332* B.C.–*640* A.D. and founded the *Journal of Juridical Papyrology*. In 1947 Taubenschlag returned to his native Poland to become professor of ancient law at Warsaw University. During his lifetime he published more than seventy books and scholarly papers.

Anson Phelps Stokes of Lenox, Massachusetts, life member of the Association, died August 13, 1958.

George M. Stephenson, emeritus professor of history at the University of Minnesota, died October 11, 1958. Dr. Stephenson, who earned his doctorate under Frederick J. Turner at Harvard, served on the faculty of the University of Minnesota temporarily in 1914–1915 and regularly from 1918 until his retirement in 1952. His brief *History of American Immigration* appeared in 1926 and his basic work on *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* six years later. Other works included *The Political History of Public Lands, The Conservative Character of Martin Luther, John Lind of Minnesota,* and a two-volume college textbook in American history. His final volume, entitled *The Puritan Heritage,* was published in 1952. Stephenson was knighted by the king of Sweden, and, as a Guggenheim fellow in Sweden in 1927–1928, he was one of the first to collect "America letters." His critical use of such sources gave impetus to the new school of nonfiliopietistic study of immigration and immigrant elements in America. With the same objective approach, he also concerned himself with church history, and many of his graduate students wrote dissertations in this field. He was widely known and admired for his thoroughgoing scholarship, his substantial contributions, his fearless candor, his sharp-tongued wit, and his skill as a storyteller.

Walter Goetz died on October 30, 1958, at the age of ninety. As director of the Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte at the University of Leipzig from 1915 to 1933, he was a leader in early efforts to build up an assured place for *Geistesgeschichte* in university teaching and research. He was editor of the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (fifty-five volumes by 1939), as well as of the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (since 1912). He republished Burckhardt's *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien,* without the posthumous changes; rebuilt the Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft; and as editor of the illustrated *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* (eleven volumes, 1929–33), created for the educated reader in Germany a new kind of history that combined a political narrative with *Kulturgeschichte.*

After 1918 Goetz took a positive stand on the Weimar Republic. As a member of the Democratic party, he served in the Reichstag from 1920 to 1928, and his research, which formerly had emphasized the Italian Renaissance, as in *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi,* and sixteenth- and seventeenth-

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century Bavarian history, broadened to include the age of Wilhelm II, of whom a critical biography was near completion at Goetz's death. During the Nazi era he lived in retirement in Gräfelfing near Munich, completing a two-volume work on the roots of Renaissance Italy, *Italien im Mittelalter* (1942). After Germany's collapse a great deal of the reorganization of German historical scholarship was thrown upon his shoulders. At seventy-eight he resumed lectures and seminars in the University of Munich, reorganzied in 1947–1948 the "Zentraldirektion" of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* when it was transferred to Munich, and served as president of the Historical Commission at the Munich Academy of Sciences from 1947 to 1951. In this capacity he was chiefly responsible for the creation of the *Neue Deutsche Biographie,* of which three volumes have appeared. A volume of collected essays on the history of historical research in Germany, *Historiker in meiner Zeit,* was published on his ninetieth birthday with an introduction by Theodor Heuss, President of the Federal Republic.

Marian Silveus, professor at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, died on November 13, 1958.

Taraknath Das, a life member of the Association, long a familiar figure at its meetings, and instrumental in establishing two of the prizes it offers—the Watumull and the Schuyler—died in New York City on December 22, 1958, at the age of seventy-five. Dr. Das was an early fighter for the independence of India and an international figure in political science. Born in Bengal, he came to the United States in 1906 and soon afterward became an American citizen. After receiving his doctorate from Georgetown University in 1924 he was special lecturer for Catholic University of America, the University of Maryland, the City College of New York, Queens College (Flushing), and Columbia University. His principal interests were in the history of India, on various aspects of which he published a number of books, and in international relations as affecting the Far and Middle East. His greatest interest was in the promotion of better understanding among the peoples of the world, especially between East and West, and to this end he and his wife established the Taraknath Das Foundation (incorporated in 1935), which has been active in furthering Indian studies in a number of American universities.

William Warren Sweet, church historian and retired head of Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University, died in Dallas, Texas, January 3, 1959, at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Sweet was the author of twenty-seven books of which the latest is a four-volume series on religion in America.

Bernard F. Donovan, professor at Merrimack College in North Andover, Massachusetts, died on January 23, 1959, at the age of sixty.

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Editor's Note

The *Review* would particularly welcome essays that sum up knowledge in a general or special field of history and ask questions about present and future work in the particular fields. A recent survey shows that its readers (as do its editors) desire articles that discuss the literature, analyze the problems, and suggest the research to be done in significant areas of investigation. What do we now know, for example, about the "decline of Rome" and the Pirenne thesis, or about seventeenth-century thought in France, or of the motivations of American foreign policy at the close of the nineteenth century? What is being done? What is to be done?

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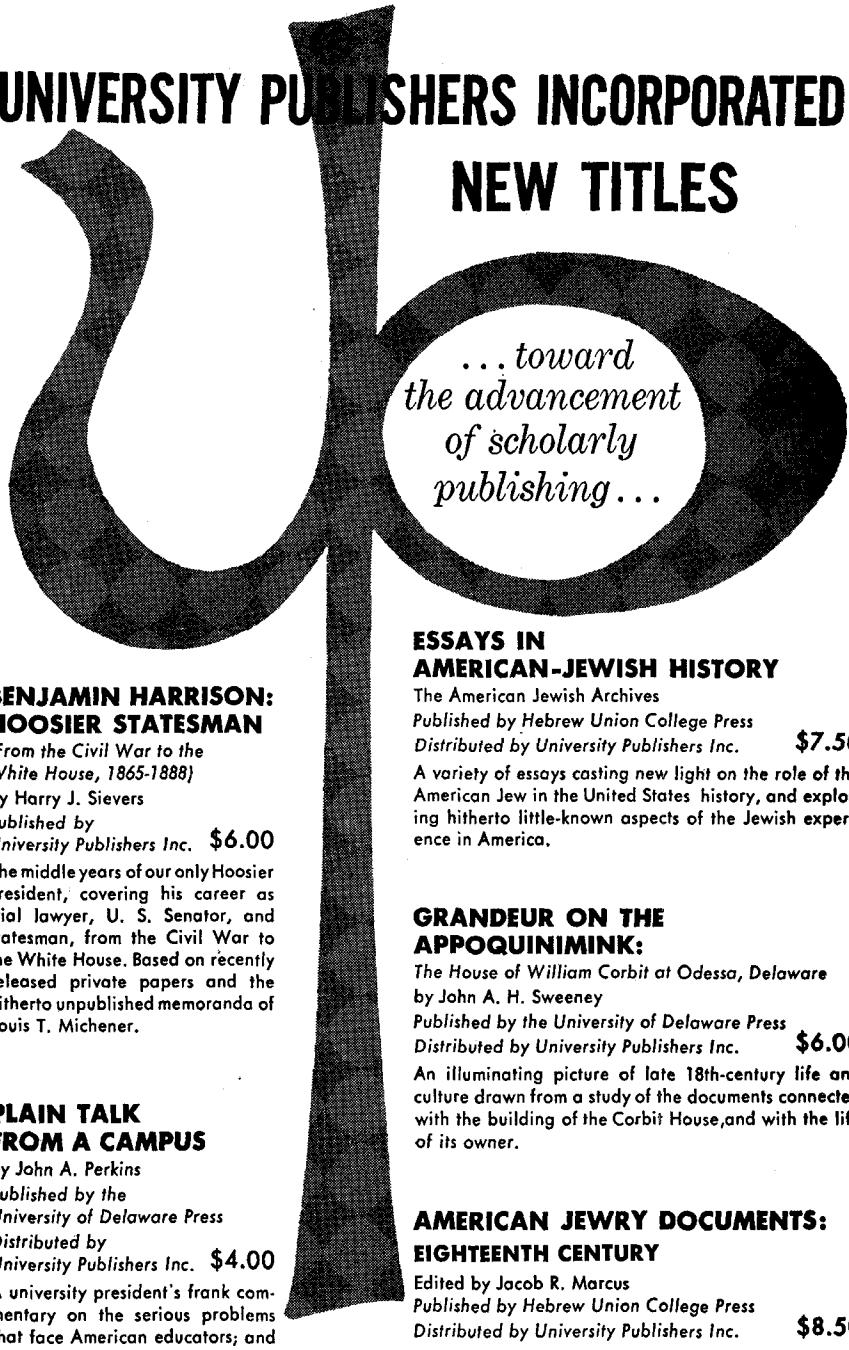


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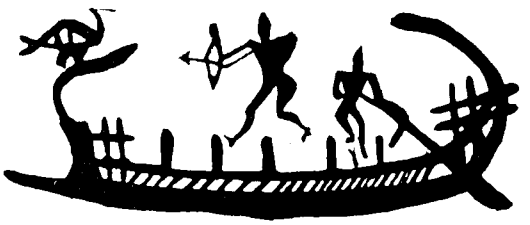
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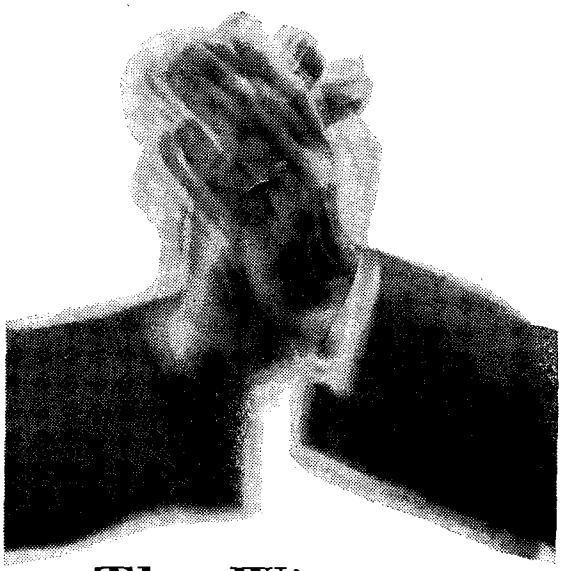
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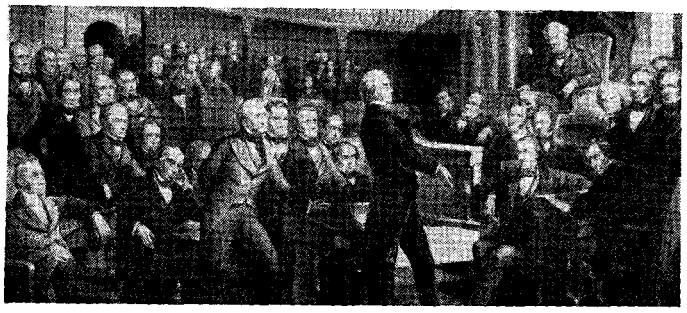
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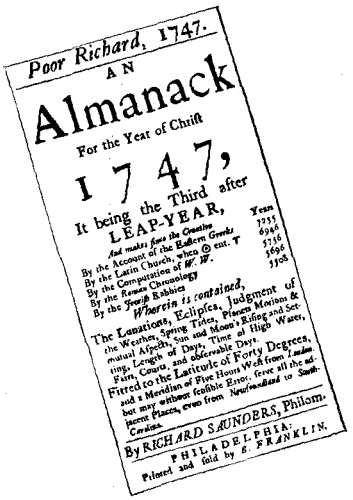
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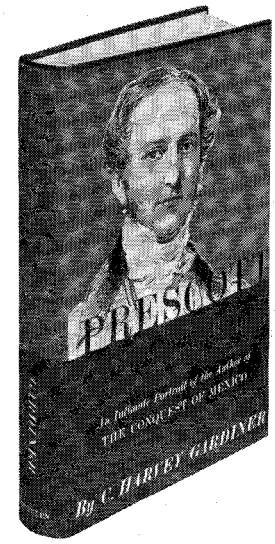
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